THE NATIONAL ERA.

G. BAILEY, EDITOR AND PROPRIETOR; JOHN G. WHITTIER, CORRESPONDING EDITOR.

VOL. VII. — WASHINGTON, THURSDAY, DECEMBER 22, 1853. — NO. 364.

THE NATIONAL ERA
IS PUBLISHED EVERY THURSDAY,
On Seventh St., Opposite Odd Fellows' Hall.

Terms.—Two dollars per annum, payable in advance.

Rates of Advertising.—Ten cents a line for the first insertion, five cents a line for each subsequent insertion.

All communications to the *Era*, whether on business of the paper or for publication, should be addressed to G. BAILEY, *Washington, D. C.*

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CLARKE, BEETON & Co., Publishers, 148 Fleet st., London.

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WASHINGTON, D. C.

For the National Era.

BELL SMITH ABROAD.

No. VII.

SIGHTS FROM A BALCONY.

MY DEAR FRIEND: We have had the sunniest weather, not warm, but weather resembling our Indian summer; no, not that—the hazy, softened glories of that echo, as it were, of the fire-eyed summer in our Western land, pertains to no part of the weather in France. I mean we have had clear, mild days—what Emerson calls "good working weather"—and I have used it to the best of my poor abilities. That consists of sitting for hours on our little balcony, perched high above the noisy world, and gazing listlessly upon the many-tinted strands of life, crossing and loitering upon Place de Madeleine—into which I can look; or making short excursions into the noted neighborhood—for Place de la Madeleine is but a second's walk from Place de la Concorde, and Place de la Concorde is bounded by breathless wonders, as you well know; if not, Galignani, incomparable guide, will inform you of the fact.

I wish it were in my power to describe to you my observatory, its peculiar situation and many advantages; but in such I make no progress. I see the Madeleine, towering up in all its simple grandeur, and it has grown upon my mind like Niagara did. Every additional look, it seems to fill a larger space, and draw stronger on my admiration. Let no one visit the interior, who wishes to retain an unshaken remembrance of a beautiful structure. Genius is untouched on the outside—within, we have a stupendous monument of French upholstery. The one is "the gold o'er dusted, the other the dust o'er gilded." The gay Boulevards touch the Place de la Madeleine at one corner, and turn down Rue Royale, which is the front avenue of palaces, to the solemn, high-pillared temple, connecting it with Place de la Concorde, where the first Revolution swallowed its own children, and so called, I presume, because there Louis XIV, Madame Roland, Danton, and Robespierre—imbecility, purity, strength, cunning, and meanness—all went down, and were at peace in earth's only common ground—the grave.

But the Boulevards only touch the Place, and the great stream of folly and wickedness flows off, leaving undisturbed the open space surrounding the temple. Here, under the trees, long lines of voitures are lazily dreaming, like so many individual nightmares. Here, bonnes, with troops of merry children, watch their charge, or listen to the idle talk off duty; a priest, in the dress peculiar here to his class, paces slowly along; two nuns, like moving shadows, appear and are gone; the old blind mendicant, basking in the sun, seems infected with the quiet, and mutely waits for charity in charity's own good time. Now we have a procession of schoolboys, led by their teacher, who, pedagogue like, marches solemnly at the head of the straggling band. At times, a gay equipage flashes by from Rue Tronchet, with footmen in white stockings, and long coats garnished with huge buttons, like a court costume, and about as reasonable. This sight is rare, however, as it is the fashion for Paris monde to be out of Paris now, and not return until late December. Paris is now at Dieppe, or in its country places. The want of a country place, or the want of money to purchase bathing and flirtation at Dieppe, may keep much of the best society at home. Such unfortunates never acknowledge the fact, but make closed doors and shut window-blinds look absent bedied—if I may coin such an expression—to all passers by.

One is never out of hearing of street organs. They are the attributes of beggary, that approaches your pockets through your ears. The most popular music, the most beautiful tunes, are pressed into service, and announce the approach of wooden legs, sightless eyes, orphan children, decayed parentage, and impudent laziness. Each neighborhood has its peculiar set, and I am beginning to distinguish mine by the different airs stereotyped on various organs. "Jeannette and Jeannot" informs us of the presence of a body and the absence of two legs—a sad old fellow, pulled about in a carriage by a little girl, one would fain think his daughter. "Valentino" tells us of a poor woman, who, blind, yet alone gropes along, asking no alms, save by the saddest face I ever saw, and the discordant music. "God save the Queen" is used by an old, battered specimen of the grand army, who grinds it out for a while, leaving to the music the appeal; but after a time he grows impatient, and gives a cry—a howl, I was going to write it—the most terrible that ever came from human lips; it sounds like the wail of a condemned soul. Of course, this brings a shower of copper. One would give the whole copper region to be relieved from such a warning.

But by far the most extraordinary specimen is that of a human—if such I can call him—who seems, at one period of his life, or at all periods, to have been in many battles, and pulled through all sorts of machinery. He is a walking commentary on modern surgery. I cannot give you a description of the poor fellow, for I never could bear to look at him long enough for that. I cannot safely declare that he has two arms—one, I know, terminates in an iron hook. I would not be willing to declare that his neck has not been broken, or that his wind-pipe is not gutta percha. He certainly has a queer collar for a cravat. His legs—but who can describe the rambling shambling things? The truth is, it is impossible to say where the wood ends, or the man begins, at any part of him. Mounted with his hand organ on an odd carriage, which he propels from house to house at a rate of about one mile a day, I have seen him at the corner of Place de la Madeleine in the morning, and just disappearing round another in the evening.

All this beggary set to music, "stinging through Burns and Moore, like hedgehogs dressed in lace," as the funny Holmes says. But I do not entirely concur with that genius. To tell you, in great confidence, the truth, I am somewhat partial to this street music. I have a weakness that way, which grew out of early association. When a little girl, I was in the habit of visiting Dorfeuille's Museum, in our city; and one box, into which you looked through a circular glass, held treasures to me. They were paintings—beautiful views of celebrated places in Europe, sunny squares surrounded by huge marble palaces, and crossed by beautiful girls and gay officers; the palaces were so high, the air so sunny, the costumes so picturesque, they seemed exquisite works to me then, and are now, for all have been hung in my little head; and whenever I hear a hand organ, I begin pulling them up and down, as of old; for all the time I gazed entranced upon the pictures—very rude they were, I suspect—a hand organ charmed my young ears. Therefore I have a weakness, and say, street organs play on, and beggary prosper, while I look at the original—oh! not near so captivatingly beautiful as their counterfeit presentments were in Dorfeuille's Museum.

A carriage stops at our door—a plain, unpretending equipage, drawn by a pair of horses beautiful as night, and looking fleet as the wind. How dearly I love horses—noble, generous, strong, beautiful animals. I miss my friends in these wanderings, I miss many comforts and a few luxuries; but of all, the most noted and remembered and sighed over is Coney—fleet, docile, yet spirited, Coney—tossing his snow-white mane upon the free wind of the prairies, and with the life of a troop of wild horses in joyous action. But I must not be taken by horses from the man—the one who steps from the carriage, and now stands talking to the coachman. This is the first nobleman, the first real lord, I have seen—the imaginary character of the novel and play—the class who live now but for one purpose, and that is, to be married or killed in two or three volumes. As a free American, I must confess I stretched my neck to the aching point for a good view of Lord L.—not Lovell of the ballad, the interesting gentleman who left his lady love so cruelly "for a year and a day," but a substantial middle-aged specimen, with red whiskers very neatly trimmed. We are very fond of titles at home; but I hope we will never possess any without some meaning attached. Colonels, Generals, and Judges are bad enough; but when it comes to the mere trickery of a name, without some idea of use or employment connected with it, I trust we will stop. I ask pardon—the use of Counts, Baronets, and Lords, is to fill up novels.

French politeness has become proverbial. I do not think, however, the characteristic aimed at is well understood, or such a term would not be used. If by politeness we mean good-heartedness, that seeks others' pleasure, it is sadly misapplied. The French, as a people, have very little feeling. It is the pride of one class to appear civil, well-bred. Of the tradesmen, it is their interest to be almost servile; but outside of these, we encounter the rudest beings on earth. A French lady gives you a welcome, and you feel that it is from the lips, however choice the phrase or impressive the manner. You go to purchase an article, and the shopman or woman comes to you with a manner that seems to say, "Here is a dear friend, what can I do for her? This is the long-lost sister, just returned from America—the beautiful sister—the sister not beloved, but worshipped. What can be done in this shop for this good relative—would it be pleasant to take it all—would it be well to be nothing but a slave to this dear friend?" Well, after a deal of talk—all on one side, for you can scarcely get in a word—you purchase some article, and take it home, to discover that you have been cheated most ridiculously—paying two prices for a worthless thing. The proprietor of a store into which I can look when I sit, is a fair specimen of this class. He is a tall, spare man, with black beard, oiled to the last extent. He has an eternal simper—I will not call it smile—on his countenance, while his back is made up of hinges. You have only to watch the reception and cheating of a dozen, to realize your own case.

What is this, moving so slowly along the pavement? A funeral—the burial of some poor person, for the bier is very rude, carried upon the shoulders of four men. The coffin, covered with a black cloth, with a cross in the centre, is that of a child. The men walk slowly and tenderly, even as if they feared to disturb the little sleeper. A poor woman follows, sobbing as if her heart would break, supported on one side by her husband in his blouse, on the other by a sympathizing neighbor, doubtless. This is a poor show, a wretched concern, coming through a fashionable quarter. One supposes that with such a heartless people it would be avoided, hardly seen—bade go down back alleys and common streets. But no; the crowd gives way respectfully, while far and near upon the streets, as it passes, men remove their hats. See, in that carriage the lady bows her head, and makes the sign of the cross, while the gentleman at her side uncovers his head with reverence. After all, this is not a bad world, even in Paris.

"The clouds shut in the night," brighter up where the stars begin to twinkle—deeper in the narrow streets below; but now the lamplighter darts along, dropping a star here and there; the stores begin to twinkle, and now glare out, just as the lights do over the wide thoroughfares in Washington; and the stars shine there as here; but not here gather the little circle, and drop the curtains, and draw out the table to the music of laughing voices and twinkling cups, while Peter——but, were I to say all I feel, it would cost you a deal of postage. So, good bye, and God bless you with many more such meetings.

EXTRACTS FROM OUR CORRESPONDENCE.

Loveland, Ohio, Dec. 6, 1853.—Jay on the "Mosaic Code" excels everything I have ever read on that subject. Were I rich enough, I would buy a million of copies for circulation. The great difficulty with writers on that subject heretofore has been a want of clearness and point in their arguments, and a good deal that smacks of "special pleading." Judge Jay is clear, unambiguous, and ingenious, redeeming the subject from the clumsiness and blunders of purblind commentators. The argument is complete and unanswerable. D. GORDON.

Wyoming, Pa., Nov. 30, 1853.—The Anti-Slavery vote in this county is not so large as last fall by about 200 votes. We have "too many irons in the fire." The Anti-Slavery sentiment is not decreasing, as our opponents say it is, and point to the meagerness of our vote as proof. But it is this inconsiderate way of pressing us into side issues, such as *canal enlargement, anti-rent, temperance, &c.*, which weakens us. In our county, but for this, we should have given 1,500 votes, at least.

Marshall, Michigan, Dec. 2, 1853.—I herewith send names of eleven club subscribers for the *Era*, accompanied with the funds, &c. I intend to forward as many more names, at least, as soon as circumstances will admit, for I should like to see it the companion of every fireside in our State. The dissemination of intelligence among the masses, wherein Slavery and the Slave Power, with all their attendant evils, their bearing, nationally and individually, are brought into view clearly and distinctly, is what is wanting. Let the great question of the increase or abatement of the Slave Power—which is *the* one great National question to which every other is subservient—be well understood, and then the matter is settled. Settled at least with the people of Michigan, for a people who rolled up a vote of twenty thousand majority to crush the evil of intemperance in their State, with the like information on that subject, would carry an irresistible influence against the great National evil.

Castine, Maine, Nov. 30, 1853.—We shall have two Senators and about a dozen Representatives in the next Legislature. Probably either Crosby (Whig) or Morrill (Temperance Democrat) will be elected Governor. The Morrill Democrats are as firm as rocks against any compromise with Pillsbury, the "regular" candidate. It would be well for the Administration to take care of the "party" in Maine. Such is its distracted and rebellious state, that it is to be feared that half-a-dozen of Cushing's manifestoes would fail to reduce it to harmony and submission.

Cincinnati, Ohio, Dec. 3, 1853.—The slave whose case was tried some weeks ago before a Kentucky court, at Covington, and who, by the decree of the court, was consigned to perpetual Slavery, notwithstanding he had nearly paid for himself according to a bargain made with his master, has succeeded in making his escape to Canada. E.

A Mayor of one of the *communes* in France, lately made the following entry upon his register:

"I, Mayor of ——, found yesterday, in the forest of ——, a man by the name of Rollin, committing an act against the laws. I commanded him to surrender, whereupon he set upon me, heaped me with insult and contumely, calling me an ragamuffin, an ass, and a precious dolt, and a scarecrow—*all of which I certify to be true.*"

WAKEFIELD, N. H., *Nov. 14, 1853.*

To the Editor of the National Era:

SIR: Several years ago I commenced a series of sketches, entitled *Recollections of my Grandfather's Home.* Three numbers, in a crude state, were published in the columns of a little village paper, when, on account of ill health, the plan was given up.

These numbers I have since revised, added others, and propose to continue them, for my own gratification at least. A specimen is enclosed. If condemned, it will suffer no uncommon fate—if deemed worthy a place in the *Era*, please inform me, and I will forward the first numbers. The former supposition seems most probable to yours, most respectfully,

E. C. H.

We publish the chapter sent us, the simple pathos of which makes us anxious to see the rest.—*Ed. Era.*

RECOLLECTIONS OF MY GRANDFATHER'S HOME.

CHAP. IV.

The Dream's Interpretation.

"None knew thee but to love thee;
None named thee but to praise."

The haying time was past, but not the remembrance of it. Each rainy-day, as we sat making little miniature rakes, we, that is, Benny and myself, would count the months and then the weeks before another haying time. Those were halcyon days. Many a bright vision did we, in youthful ignorance, conjure up from the depths of my grandfather's well-filled purse. "I will tell you what, Moll, said Benny one day to me, with an encouraging nod, as he proceeded to drive the last peg into his little rake—"we shall be rich, I know we shall; we will work every haying time, and by and by we shall get money enough to buy a farm—a great farm like my grandfather's." "I shall be a farmer, and you shall be my housekeeper." "Two dollars—two dollars every year! Let me see how many sheep two dollars will buy," said Benny, at the same time giving a finishing stroke to the little rake—one blow too many; and the wooden pegs flew over the room, fit emblems of the frailty of Benny's air-castles.

Our grandfather's farm was the El Dorado of our youthful visions. In the twilight, that great studio of childhood, were brought forth fresh pictures of its cherished features. Here and there an object, like the walnut tree, the pasture bars, the pure spring in the mowing field, the shaded play rock, ah! and the little green, tufted grave, never changed its place. With fond remembrance, connecting links came fast. There were not wanting the sleek herds, seeking shade in the skirts of the woodland, drinking at the millpond; or the sheep browsing the green hillocks. The distant cow-bell again tinkled low, sweet melody in our ears; in the village, the mill clattered on; the maimed lamb once more limped, at our call, to its evening meal; and the speckled trout shone on the surface of the deep old well.

Oh! 'twas a mellow picture, whose every feature made well up all the love and trust of our young hearts. And always in the foreground of that twilight picture, the rays of the last sun clinging round him, stood an aged form, gray-haired and trembling, leaning on a knotted staff. Before this form we bowed in instinctive reverence; gazed on our own little bodies, wondering if age would so wrinkle our rosy cheeks and stiffen our supple limbs! We never thought that that form might one day fade from the picture, when the original had passed away. Yet now, ever and anon, the also fading lineaments of the little miniature of a gray-haired old man, grasping under his chin with distorted hands a knotted staff, are carefully scanned, to help fill out the outline form in that landscape picture!

"Passing away!" so it is. What we most love is most evanescent! How humiliating is the thought that, as the forms we once loved recede from our grasp, so shall our features fade one day from the memories of our friends! Poor, foolish, ambitious man, toil on, reach your aim, and fall quickly; there's another as proud, waiting for your foothold! So goes the world, and we murmur at it; but God is wiser than his creatures. If, as the lifeless form went back to mother earth, the grasped counterpart grew not dim in the heart, the storehouse would soon burst with its over-teeming life. So, mother, let your child, and child, let your mother go back to earth, and hang over the tarnished canvass a newer portrait!

There was to be a village jubilee, in anticipation of which a new muslin dress had swallowed up my grandfather's dollar, while a nice pair of gaiters attested the current value of Benny's.

The long-wished-for morning came. Benny's little jacket, with a white collar pinned to its neck, hung from a nail in the wall; his new gaiters stood upon the mantel-piece—Benny could not wear them then.

I entered into the sports of that day with all the joyousness and buoyancy of childhood; and though I heard Benny's moans as I passed the half-opened door, I did not think at evening to bid him good night, or give him his wonted kiss. Giddy girl! that same sick Benny was the gay companion of haying time! Even so selfish is joy. What sympathy can gladness have with sorrow? So thou, who hast no home picture fading in thy heart, go not to condole with her who moans for the loss of her first-born. Let her, in whose house is an empty room, in whose corner a vacant chair, mingle tears and words of true sympathy. Thou who hast found in thy eldest a father's joy, and in thy youngest a father's hope, go not with empty words to him whose own house hath fallen. There must be a bitter chalice between mourners over a desolated hearthstone.

Days passed away—long, dreary days. The gaiters still kept their place on the mantel-piece; the white collar had become yellow with smoke and dust, but still it stayed. Benny no longer asked about the jubilee, and I shrank from the darkened room. How anxiously I watched the doctor's ominous face, as he softly emerged from the sick room; how my little heart beat, if ever its wonted benignant smile returned to that anxious face.

One morning (Benny had been sick a week) I was awakened by the loud rumbling of a vehicle. There was no mistaking the sound—yes, it was the old market wagon. In a few moments I was by my grandfather's side. There was no tremulous grasp of the hand, no gentle greeting, no fond pat on the head—his thoughts were with Benny, his namesake.

"Tread softly," whispered the doctor, as I led my grandfather to the side of the sick bed.

This time there was no mistake; a tear twinkled in his gray eye, and trickled slowly down his furrowed cheek.

"He will not help us hay another year, Moll," said my grandfather to me, in broken tones.

How that death-knell fell on my soul! Benny, the good, the beautiful Benny, die and be buried in the cold, damp earth! It could not be; and yet, as I looked at him, the terrible conviction forced itself upon me. His little, brown hands were become thin and white; his cheeks sunken. He opened his eyes.

"Benny, do you know me?" asked grandfather, fondly.

He murmured, incoherently, something about haying time, the big rock, and the mowing field.

Again my grandfather dropped a tear. It was more than my childish heart could bear. I ran to my chamber, and, throwing myself on the bed, yielded to the first sharp agony of life. Oh, it is a fearful thing to pass through the gate of sorrow, from the scenes of unburdened childhood.

It was dark, very dark, when I was awakened by a light tap on the shoulder. I knew the touch—it was my grandfather's hand. I asked no questions, but followed him instinctively to the sick room. I knew that Benny, my loved Benny, was dying. There was no shrinking from the mysterious threshold. In the soul agony of that moment I could not cry, but stood by the side of that dear, dying boy, as cold, calm, and still, almost, as himself. There was no look of recognition, no word from the palsied tongue. One gasp, then another; one quiver of the thin lip, and the fragile chord which bound that pure soul to earth was broken; and loving parents, brothers, and sisters, heard no more the voice of little Benny.

It was a strange, fearful death-room! A mother weeping for her child, and would not be comforted, for he was not; manhood bowed in agony for the child of his heart; and, stranger still, the silvered locks of decrepit age mingling with the brown curls of lifeless childhood. Poor old man! You've long since finished your three score years and ten, yet tottered weeping over a little child!

Child at your play, pause a moment. Death marks you with a ghastly smile! Man of the world, one hour for your Maker. Gold will not bribe the grim messenger! Mother, go back once more, to pray by the bedside of your sleeping child; for this night he may be written motherless! So it is—childhood sports a brief hour; manhood leagues with mammon a few short years; and here and there an old man prates of a long life! What matters it? for the end is not yet. Better, far, to die in youthful purity, than in the weariness of dishonored age.

There are confused recollections of black dresses and crape bonnets, a great concourse of people, and a long ride. But the last look of little Benny is as vivid as ever; the long, lingering gaze upon those placid, clay-cold features daguerreotyped irrevocably upon a sister's heart the features of the brother and playmate of her childhood. In my heart's chambers there are many faded portraits; but no new-comer has ever usurped the place of little Benny.

For months, I mourned despairingly for my lost playmate. The chair kept its wonted place in the corner; the miniature rakes were fondly treasured; the white collar was still unpinned. By chance, one day, the chair was moved; anon the little rakes disappeared; and then the rusty pin was drawn from the jacket! The next haying time found me almost as blithe and gay as ever! Thus evanescent are the griefs of early childhood.

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For the National Era.

THE LEGAL TENURE OF SLAVERY.

LETTER V.

AFRICAN SLAVE TRADE NEVER LEGALIZED.

To the Friends of American Liberty:

Having shown that there was no legalized African Slave Trade, under the British flag, in Queen Elizabeth's time, I continue to press the demand, "How, when, where, or by whom, was it made legal, afterwards?"

There is one theory of the legal tenure of American Slavery, as derived from a legal African slave trade, that may as well be examined in this place, before we proceed with the historical inquiry.

The theory, briefly, is this. The Africans brought into the colonies, it is said, were legally slaves in their own country, because they had been taken captives in war. And being legally slaves there, they were legally purchased, and legally brought to America and sold.

The principle involved in this theory is a false one; and whether false or true, it does not cover the known facts of the case.

Men do not become legally slaves by being taken captives in war. The practice among barbarous tribes does not make it lawful, nor prove it to be so. The practice of cannibals, in eating human flesh, and of killing human beings for that purpose, does not make a traffic in cargoes of human flesh legal. Suppose the African tribes should kill and barrel up human beings for sale. Would the traffic and sale of such human cargoes in American ports be legal? The very question inflicts a shock upon the moral sense. But such a traffic would not be more inhuman and criminal than the traffic in slaves.

And besides: It cannot be shown that all or that the majority of slaves imported into this country, from Africa, were ever held (either legally or illegally) as slaves there. The example of John Hawkins was extensively followed by his successors. Villages were assaulted, set on fire, and the peaceful and free inhabitants seized and dragged on board the slave ships. No American slaveholder, perhaps, at the present day, can affirm that his slave, or that the ancestor of his slave, was purchased as a slave in his own country. But he must needs do this, in order to vindicate the legal tenure of his slaveholding, under this theory. The legal tenure of American Slavery, therefore, under this theory, falls to the ground. To press it as a basis for American Slavery, and direct the courts to act honestly upon it, would be to open the way for declaring all, or nearly all, our American slaves free. It cannot be shown that they became slaves in this manner.

We are thrown back, therefore, upon the theory that predicates legalized American Slavery upon a previously legalized African slave trade—legalized by express authority of the British Government, while we were British Colonies.

And let it be remembered, that, in order to prove the legality of such a slave trade, there must be produced some legislative enactment for the purpose. A mere royal permission, as has been shown, will not be sufficient. And the enactment must specify just *such* a slave trade as has been actually carried on, and no other. It must specially provide that the slaves may be taken away forcibly, and without their own free consent; that they may be either purchased of their pretended owners, or may be seized and taken without purchase, wherever they may be found. Nothing short of this, most certainly, could legalize that *matter-of-fact* slave trade that, we know, has been systematically carried on, and by means of which our American planters have been supplied with slaves.

Who can produce any such acts of Parliament, or tell us when and by whom they were enacted? The slave traders and their advocates in the British Parliament, when measures for suppressing the traffic were under discussion, (in 1787 or '88,) would have been glad to have found some such enactment to sustain their vociferous clamor for the security of their "vested rights." Their chief champion, Mr. Dundas, was continually dinging in the ears of the House of Commons this high claim. His chief reliance was on the act of 23 George III, c. 31, to which he frequently appealed. How was the House surprised, Mr. Dundas confounded, and his clients overwhelmed, when WILLIAM PITT opened the statute book, and read from that very act, as follows:

"*No master of a trading ship to Africa shall by fraud, force, or violence,* or by any indirect practice whatever, *take on board or carry away from that coast any negro or native of that country, or commit any violence upon the natives,* to the prejudice of said trade; and every person shall, for every such offence, forfeit one hundred pounds."

Such was the enactment! "But," continued Mr. Pitt, "the whole trade has been demonstrated to be a system of fraud and violence, *and therefore the contract was daily violated, under which the Parliament allowed it to continue.*"*

WILLIAM GOODELL.

* Clarkson's Hist., p. 314.

AMERICAN STEAMERS.

While the steamers of the other lines are from fourteen to seventeen days in making the passage from England to New York, those of the Collins line arrive as punctually as in the most favorable season of the year. Other ships are delayed on the way by opposing tempests; but these, if we may judge by the usual rapidity of their voyages, seem to have the secret of carrying with them the sea and the gales of summer. There is something admirable in the regularity with which these great vessels come to hand; it is so constant that a day's delay in one of them is a cause for anxiety, and on the second day it is difficult to obtain insurance on her cargo. Everybody fears some accident, or else why should one of the Collins steamers not arrive at the usual time? A striking illustration of this punctuality was yesterday afforded by the Arctic, which came in at about 1 P. M., having made the passage in a little more than eleven days.—*New York Tribune.*

CONGRESS.

THIRTY-THIRD CONGRESS—FIRST SESSION.

Monday, December 12, 1853.

SENATE.—A letter was read from the Secretary of the Treasury, respecting the mode of paying members of Congress. He doubts whether the Secretary of the Senate is a disbursing officer of the Government, thinks that the deposit of money with a private banker is not authorized by the act of 1846, and suggests that the proper mode would be for the Treasurer of the United States to pay members, upon certificate setting forth the number of days' attendance, mileage, &c., signed by the Secretary of the Senate.

On motion of Mr. Bright, the Senate rules were so amended as to substitute six members for four on fourteen of the standing committees.

By the usual arrangement between the leading members on both sides, the following committees were then nominated, and without balloting the Senate agreed to them:

On Foreign Relations.—Messrs. Mason, (Chairman,) Douglas, Slidell, Clayton, Weller, and Everett.

On Finance.—Messrs. Hunter, (Chairman,) Bright, Gwin, Pearce, Norris, and Badger.

On Commerce.—Messrs. Hamlin, (Chairman,) Dodge of Wisconsin, Stuart, Seward, Clay, and Benjamin.

On Manufactures.—Messrs. Wright, (Chairman,) Allen, Fish, Butler, and Dixon.

On Agriculture.—Messrs. Allen, (Chairman,) Hunter, Wade, Thompson of New Jersey, and Morton.

On Military Affairs.—Messrs. Shields, (Chairman,) Weller, Fitzpatrick, Dawson, Johnson, and Jones of Tennessee.

On Militia.—Messrs. Hunter, (Chairman,) Dodge of Wisconsin, Morton, Shields, and Thompson of Kentucky.

On Naval Affairs.—Messrs. Gwin, (Chairman,) Mallory, Brodhead, Fish, Thompson of New Jersey, and Bell.

On Public Lands.—Messrs. Dodge of Iowa, (Chairman,) Stuart, Johnson, Foot, Walker, and Clayton.

On Private Land Claims.—Messrs. Pettit, (Chairman,) Sebastian, Benjamin, Allen, and Thompson of Kentucky.

On Indian Affairs.—Messrs. Sebastian, (Chairman,) Walker, Adams, Cooper, Rusk, and Toombs.

On Claims.—Messrs. Brodhead, (Chairman,) Clay, Chase, Pratt, Williams, and Wade.

On Revolutionary Claims.—Messrs. Walker, (Chairman,) Toucey, Cooper, Evans, and Dixon.

On the Judiciary.—Messrs. Butler, (Chairman,) Toucey, Bayard, Geyer, Pettit, and Toombs.

On the Post Office and Post Roads.—Messrs. Rusk, (Chairman,) Brodhead, Hamlin, Morton, Adams, and Smith.

On Roads and Canals.—Messrs. Bright, (Chairman,) Slidell, Wright, Dawson, Chase, and Jones of Tennessee.

On Pensions.—Messrs. Jones of Iowa, (Chairman,) Clay, Foot, Williams, and Sumner.

On the District of Columbia.—Messrs. Norris, (Chairman,) Mason, Dawson, Wright, and Pratt.

On Patents and the Patent Office.—Messrs. James, (Chairman,) Evans, Stewart, Seward, Chase, and Thompson of Kentucky.

On Retrenchment.—Messrs. Adams, (Chairman,) Toucey, Fish, Fitzpatrick, and Badger.

On Territories.—Messrs. Douglas, (Chairman,) Houston, Johnson, Bell, Jones of Iowa, and Everett.

To Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate.—Messrs. Evans, (Chairman,) Dodge of Iowa, and Foot.

On Public Buildings.—Messrs. Bayard, (Chairman,) James, Hunter, Badger, Thompson of New Jersey, and Pratt.

On Printing.—Messrs. Mallory, (Chairman,) Hamlin, and Smith.

On Engrossed Bills.—Messrs. Fitzpatrick, (Chairman,) Pettit, and Wade.

[Mr. Sumner is placed at the tail end of a single committee, and that of comparatively small importance. Were he a Senator from South Carolina, he would be placed in prominent positions on several important committees. Generally, the important committees are under the control of the Slave Interest. Mason, of Virginia, heads the Committee on Foreign Affairs; Hunter, of Virginia, that on Finance; Sebastian, of Arkansas, that on Indian Affairs; Butler, of South Carolina, that on the Judiciary; Rusk, of Texas, that on the Post Office and Post Roads; and on the other leading committees, the South for the most part preponderates. It is a curious phenomenon, and would be remarkable, were it not a Senatorial usage.]

Several petitions were presented, among them some from Massachusetts praying for a reduction of postage.

On motion of Mr. Cass, a resolution was adopted, calling upon the President for information and correspondence in relation to the Treaty of 1850, with Great Britain, concerning Central American affairs.

On motion of Mr. Adams, the Committee on Printing was instructed to order ten thousand copies of the speeches lately made by members of Congress announcing the death of Vice President King, in pamphlet form, and in such manner as may be appropriate for the Senate.

[A very ridiculous outlay.]

A resolution to elect a Public Printer for the Senate was adopted, and the Senate proceeded to ballot. Beverly Tucker, editor of the *Washington Sentinel*, received 26 of 44 votes cast, and was declared to be duly elected.

Three bills, proposing grants of public lands to aid in the construction of railroads in Louisiana, were introduced.

By Mr. Chase, a bill to grant to the State of Ohio the unsold and unappropriated public lands of that State.

Mr. Dodge, of Iowa, gave notice of a motion to repeal the 37th Rule, which provides for the election of officers of the Senate by ballot. He considered the vote given to-day for Public Printer discreditable to the Democratic organization of the Senate, and he wished to subject Senators to the test of *viva voce* voting.

HOUSE.—The Speaker announced the standing committees of the House.

The resolution of Mr. Bayly, of Virginia, that the Librarian of the House be elected by the House, instead of being appointed, as now, by the Clerk, was lost—yeas 98, nays 100.

Mr. Clingman's motion to amend so much of the existing rules as authorized the calling of the States for petitions, was carried.

Mr. Ewing submitted a joint resolution proposing an amendment of the Constitution in relation to the mode of electing President and Vice President.

A Homestead bill was introduced, by Mr. Cobb, of Alabama, and referred to the appropriate committee.

Mr. Mace, of Indiana, submitted a joint resolution to provide for the election of United States Senators by the people.

Mr. Wentworth, of Illinois, submitted the following resolution:

Resolved, That Congress has the power to provide for the construction of a railroad over the Territories of the United States, for the safer and more expeditious transportation of the public moneys, the mails, the troops, and the munitions of war, from the Atlantic to the Pacific coast, and ought immediately to exercise that power.

On motion of Mr. Stephens, of Georgia, it was laid upon the table—yeas 127, nays 72.

Mr. Washburne, of Illinois, then proposed the following:

Resolved, That, as incidental to, and indispensable for, the exercise of the powers conferred by the Constitution upon the Congress of the United States to provide for the common defence and general welfare, is the power to construct railroads through the Territories of the United States, for the purpose of facilitating the transportation of the mails and the munitions of war."

Pending action on the resolution, the House adjourned.

NEW GERMAN PAPER IN ILLINOIS.

A new German paper, called the *Quincy Tribune*, has lately been established at Quincy, Illinois, and the first number, dated Nov. 5th, now lies before us. Its character is defined to be Whig. But, to make the principles on which it is to be conducted more evident, we take from the prospectus the following statements:

"1. We hold to the true and faithful maintenance of the Constitution and laws.

"2. Within the bounds of the Constitution, we are for such an interpretation of the same, and such a decision in all doubtful cases, as sets the welfare of the *whole Union* above the rights of the individual.

"3. We do not believe that the majority can never err, or do wrong; we believe that to flatter the prejudices or passions of the people is corrupt demagoguism; and we consider that doctrine a perverted one, which would make the so-called 'manifest destiny' of the Anglo-Saxon stock, or the United States, as an excuse for any violent act of injustice, or breach of treaty.

"4. We believe that the United States are bound to render to all its inhabitants equal justice, without respect to place of birth, modes of faith or of living, or complexion; and we do not believe that the red man is destined to extinction, or the colored man to Slavery, or the emigrant to a want of independence.

"5. We regard the United States as a great Power, strong enough and justified to take part in the world's affairs, if the people desire it; we wish that our flag should everywhere protect our interests and every individual to whom its protection has once been guarantied; and we feel the deepest interest in the freedom of all nations, and consider it the duty of the United States to support the same, with a proper regard, however, for existing treaties, and a wise reference to our own interests and to what is practicable.

"6. But we are opposed to wars of conquest, all annexations, extensions of territory, all breaches of popular rights, neutrality, and treaties; we do not believe that we should be a 'land-stealing race,' nor that even propagandism for freedom justifies injustice, nor that it is a disgrace to preserve peace in spite of little causes of war; but that it belongs to the strong, especially, to prefer considerate reflection to the harsh exertion of power.

"7. We hold Slavery to be a wrong and a misfortune, but that we are bound by existing compacts with the slave States; we are, however, opposed to the admission of any new slave States, and every introduction of Slavery into the new territory of the United States, every impairing of the condition of the colored race, and to the higher influence of slaveholders over the Federal Government.

"8. We go for the continual development of the vast resources of this country by the greatest posible improvements of the modes of intercourse, (railroads, canals, steamboats;) by the greatest relief of the gold currency, (banks and paper money;) by great industrial enterprises and corporations; by unlimited freedom of competition in industry and trade. All these things we desire to have regulated and limited by wise laws, but not prevented or subverted by national hatred of them.

"9. We are for a general system of internal improvements, and consider the same to be an unconditional right of the West.

"10. In theory we are for free trade; but, so long as this is impracticable on account of the want of a just reciprocity, we are for a suitable protection of our own domestic industry, in order to furnish our farmers a home market for their products.

"11. We are for free schools, a reasonable homestead law, for a gratuitous release of the public lands in limited quantities to actual settlers, and for the just and wise advancement of the condition of the laboring classes.

"12. We are, as Germans, for the elevation and development of the German element, not for a separate existence, but for an honorable share in the collective life of the Union; and we believe that the excellent aspects of German education, morals, and feelings, may and ought to unfold themselves with equal rights and self-consciousness; we are therefore decided opponents of nativism, and every effort to force on us customs foreign to us, but will also, on the other side, oppose every attempt to transcend the proper limits.

"13. With religious controversies and matters, we shall not have anything to do in this journal."

It will be seen, by the above exposition of principles, that the *Quincy Tribune* may be counted upon as a genuine Free Soil paper. It makes no secret of its decided opposition to Slavery, it will exert its influence to promote the great interests of freedom and human rights; and it can scarcely be doubted that, by an open, manly course of action, it will ever be found on the side of those great principles for which this and kindred journals are contending. It is gratifying to know that the light is spreading thus among a large class of our foreign population, to whom we cannot have access. The German element is an important one in our national development, and well sustained journals will contribute much to bring it into action, in favor of the sacred cause of truth and justice.

THE GREAT FIRE.

A more signal calamity has never fallen upon a private business house than the terrible conflagration of Saturday, by which the extensive publishing establishment of Messrs. Harper & Brothers was, within the short space of two hours, converted into a heap of smouldering ruins. The fire was terrific in its rapidity. The alarm was scarcely given, before the whole interior of the buildings was enveloped in flames. It was at once seen that there was no hope of quelling its fierce ravages. Fed with combustible materials on every side, it soon roared and raged with volcanic fury. There was scarcely time for the occupants of the vast building to escape with their lives. Fortunately, out of the six hundred and fifty employees within its walls, some four hundred had not returned from dinner—those who remained being chiefly the young women employed in the press-rooms and bindery. Thanks to the daring efforts of the firemen, whose first efforts were directed to saving life, these were all rescued from a dreadful fate; though we regret to learn that one of the number was so much injured, that she died on the way to the hospital.

The vast property on Franklin square and Cliff street, we understand, amounted to nearly $2,000,000, including the buildings, printing apparatus, stereotype plates, and the large stock of publications issued by Harper & Brothers. Of this, the stereotype plates, which were kept in under-ground vaults, are all which have escaped destruction. The total loss, at a moderate estimate, cannot be less than $1,400,000, of which only $200,000, as we learn, was covered by insurance. The high premiums charged on risks of this character was, no doubt, an inducement with the proprietors, in common with some other eminent capitalists, to become, to a great extent, their own insurers. We are glad to be able to state that the safes, containing the account books and other valuable papers of the establishment, were secured at an early stage of the conflagration, by the courageous enterprise of the firemen.

The destruction of important works of literature and science, occasioned by this catastrophe, is extensive and disastrous in the extreme. For the last six months, the publications issued by Harper & Brothers were of a more interesting and valuable character than the usual average of their editions. The marvellous success of their Magazine had not in any degree checked or weakened their enterprise in the preparation of more permanent works, both original and reprints. These are all swept away before the relentless element. The plates, however, are preserved, and, we trust, will speedily furnish the public with new editions of the books, the loss of which would be a damage to literature.—*N. Y. Tribune.*

THE TARIFF.

The following is the list of articles which have hitherto paid a duty, but which the Secretary of the Treasury now proposes to admit free.

Names of Articles.	*Amount Imported.*	*Amt. duty yielded.*
Arsenic	$30,523	$4,500
Barks used for Medicine and Tanning	318,000	47,720
Brimstone	186,000	20,000
Books	728,221	144,700
Mahogany and all Ornamental Woods and Fire Wood	465,000	92,600
Brazil Woods, other Dye Woods in Sticks	355,330	17,000
Cochineal	414,000	41,000
Codilla, or Hemp of Tow or Flax, cwt.	1,562,000	72,000
Cream of Tartar	311,000	60,000
Engravings, Etchings, or Plate	107,000	10,000
Flaxseed and Linseed	633,000	65,000
Hatters' Furs	1,627,000	162,000
Hair	358,000	35,000
India Rubber	681,000	63,000
Indigo	1,281,000	120,000
Ivory	238,000	12,000
Linens	8,897,317	1,760,000
Oils of Palm, Cocoanut, and Olive	455,000	80,000
Raw Hides and Skins, of all kinds, and in all conditions	5 941,678	297,000
Rags	982,837	50,000
Salt	1,059,000	210,000
Saltpetre and Potash	1,800,000	97,000
Raw Silk	712,000	106,000
Spices of all kinds	802,000	346,000
Steel Bars, Cast Shear or German	2,716,000	427,000
Tin, in plates or sheets	4,700,000	705,000
Tin, in pigs	724,000	20,000
Watches and parts of Watches	3,217,000	321,000
Zinc, Spolter, or Teutenegue	628,000	62,000
Wines, except Champagne and adulterated Wines	2,114,000	845,000
Opium	348,000	172,000
Sulphate of Quinine	223,000	44,000
Soda Ash	845,000	179,000
Wool worth less than 10 cents per lb.	674,411	201,000

IMPORTS FOR 1853.

	Value.	*Duty.*
Woollens	$27,489,904	$7,514,586
Cottons	26,681,836	6,058,837
Hempen Goods	470,171	95,834
Iron, and Manufacture of	27,016,364	8,104 600
Sugar	14,987,776	4,406,883
Hemp	329,122	99,787
Salt	100,050,482	14,386
Coal	470,016	147,000
Total	$188,462,609	27,637,269

The Secretary of State recommends the imposition of an ad valorem duty of 100 per cent. on the following imports:

Brandy and other spirits, distilled from grain or other material; Cordials, Absynthe, Arrack, Curaçoa, Kirschen wasser, Liqueurs, Maraschino, Ratafia, and all other spirituous liquors, and beverages of a similar character.

THE WAR REPORT.

In this sheet is published the annual report of Mr. Davis, Secretary of War. It gives a full and elaborate account of our military establishment, and recommends some important changes and reforms.

The standing army of the United States, if complete, should consist of 13,821 men and officers; but its actual number, according to the latest returns, is but 10,417. Of those, we have 8,378 employed in the protection of our frontiers, or on their march to that destination, where they have already been successful in preventing Indian depredations. Except in California and Oregon, these depredations have not been very considerable. It is intended to make a better disposition of our troops to the west of the Mississippi, establishing new posts and dispensing with the less important ones, and employing a larger force to protect the emigrants. On the Rio Grande, Maj. General Smith is now occupied in selecting sites for permanent fortifications, one of which will be opposite to El Paso, and the other at the Comanche crossing, to protect the frontier against Indian incursions from Mexico.

The removal of the Indians from Florida has rendered it necessary, says the Secretary, to employ in that country nine companies of artillery, and if it should be necessary, coercion will be used. Two regiments of artillery will be placed on the Canada frontier, and on the coast of the Atlantic and the Gulf, one on the Rio Grande boundary, and a fourth on the Pacific coast, where it is intended, as soon as possible, to station a considerale force under the command of one of the Brigadier Generals. One cavalry regiment will be employed in Texas, one in New Mexico, the third on our Western frontier; and the Secretary asks authority to raise a fourth. Of the infantry, three regiments are needed in Texas, two in the country west of the Mississippi, one in New Mexico, and one in the Indian country on the Pacific.

The Secretary finds it difficult to keep the ranks of the army filled. He proposes that the pay of the common soldier be increased; that for every five years a soldier may remain in the army, an additional increase of pay shall be allowed; that non-commissioned officers of merit shall be promoted, and receive commissions of the lowest rank; and that soldiers honorably discharged, who may re-enlist within a month afterwards, shall be entitled to an advance of pay.

The question of adding to the numbers of the army he argues at considerable length, and from various considerations. He recommends that the minimum organization of all companies be fixed, as in the mounted riflemen, at sixty-four privates, and that there be added to the present military establishment one regiment of dragoons and two regiments of riflemen. They, he observes, will give a minimum organization of 15,528 officers and men, but may be expanded, if the limit fixed by the law of June 7, 1850, be continued, to 17,414; and on a war establishment of 128 privates per company, to 27,818—giving, for a state of war, an effective increase of from 10,000 to 12,000 men, without the creation of new regiments.

The report also recommends that there be added to the engineer corps another company of sappers and miners. There are other recommendations in this report, one of the most important of which is, that establishments for the manufacture of arms should be under the control of the War Department, and superintended by experienced officers of the army, instead of procuring from contractors arms made at private establishments.

THE REPORT OF THE INTERIOR DEPARTMENT.—We lay before our readers the annual report of the Secretary of the Interior.

In the course of the year, 819,411 acres of the public land have been surveyed; 10,363,891 brought into market, and 1,083,495 sold. The report estimates the public lands unsold at 1,584,000,000 acres, the entire cost of which to the Government, including the purchase money, the expense of surveying and selling, has been $88,994,613. The whole amount of sales up to the 30th of June last, is $142,288 478, or more than fifty-four millions beyond the whole cost of the lands to the country.

We have not space for a further analysis of the report, which is drawn up in an unpretending, business-like manner, as such documents ought always to be.—*N. Y. Eve. Post.*

☞ Mr. H. B. Knight has been appointed publishing agent of the American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, in place of L. J. Bates, resigned; and is also the authorized agent of the *Era* for the city of New York, and may be found at No. 48 Beekman street.

☞ Post & Co., Periodical Agents, Third street, near Main, Cincinnati, are authorized to receive subscriptions for the *Era*. Single copies of the paper may also be had of them at all times.

☞ Mr. Caleb A. Wall is our authorized agent for Worcester, Mass.

WASHINGTON, D. C.

THURSDAY, DECEMBER 22, 1853.

OUR DAILY.

We laid before our readers last week the difficulties attending the establishment of a Daily, but committed ourselves to the undertaking. Let us add, now, that as next Monday week is the day fixed for issuing the first number, no time is to be lost by any one who feels disposed to help forward the enterprise. But, one week is enough for such work, where the *will* exists. You can do as much in one week as one month, only begin to move, and keep moving.

First, we *want advertisements*. Let no one, anxious that our Daily should succeed, wait for somebody else to get them. In Boston, New York, Philadelphia, and Baltimore, we have many friends, in business, who are in the habit of advertising, and whose daily associations are with the business world. *If they choose*, they can send us by the first of January as many advertisements as our columns will admit; and *if they do*, it will be no *charity* offering; for a newspaper that circulates through its weekly twenty-eight thousand copies all over the country, especially among classes dealing with those cities, must be a first-rate advertising medium.

Next, we *want subscribers*. Do not wait for an agent to call on you. Be your own agent; and if you know anybody favorably disposed, induce him to join with you. Let every one, who wishes the enterprise to succeed, take a personal responsibility in the matter. *We* assume a pretty heavy one, and certainly without the remotest idea of gain or gratification.

Finally, as the rule is to be reversed in our case, the Weekly supporting the Daily, instead of the Daily supporting the Weekly, we must again urge upon our friends the necessity of *keeping up our weekly list of subscribers*. If they fail in this, we shall certainly publish the Daily on our own resources, all its appointed time: but the experiment will in all probability be the last of the kind.

Slavery, Monopoly, time-serving Conservatism, Compromise Whiggery and Democracy, have their daily organs here, at the seat of the Federal Government. The question now submitted, is, Are there enough People in the country, willing and able to sustain here, a Daily Journal, opposed outright to Slavery, Monopoly, time-serving Conservatism, Compromise Whiggery and Democracy, and pledged to follow out the Democratic Principle in all its logical and legitimate applications?

Who speaks?

"FUZZY GUZZY" is always welcome, name and all. He shall discourse next week in our columns.

THE NEW VOLUME.—For the new volume, commencing in January, we have on hand, A continuation of "*My Summer with Dr. Singletary*," by WHITTIER, "*A Brother's Recollection of an Only Sister*," by Mary Irving, "*Secret Societies in France*," by an English writer, "*Aristocracy in England*," a continuation of the series of monthly political articles, furnished for the *Era* by one of the foremost Liberals of England, &c., &c.

☞ BELL SMITH.—See another Letter this week from Bell Smith.

CLUBS.—Agents and others, in making up clubs, are at liberty to send from as many different post offices as they may think proper.

THE SAXON SERF.—Chapter V came too late for insertion this week—it will appear in our next issue.

EXCHANGES.—We feel it a duty, no less than a pleasure, to exchange with every paper committed to the cause with which the *Era* is identified, whether it notice our Prospectus or not. If any such has been cut off, it has been done through mistake.

FACTS FOR THE PEOPLE.—"The Southern Platform," by Mr. Goodloe, is now closed. A more valuable collection of documents in relation to Southern sentiment and action on Slavery has never appeared. It is all reprinted in *Facts for the People*, and will serve in this convenient form for permanent reference. Hereafter, that monthly publication will be filled with articles designed more particularly for circulation among those not yet fully initiated into the facts of the Anti-Slavery movement.

COMMITTEES IN THE SENATE.

The Managers this year in the Senate, ashamed of their conduct, at the last session, in excluding Messrs. Chase and Sumner from all the committees, determined to pursue a different course. The Democrats proposed to provide for Mr. Chase, and suggested to the Whigs to provide for Mr. Sumner. Accordingly, Mr. Chase was placed on several committees, but in the Whig caucus, a proposition by Mr. Seward, to make an arrangement for Mr. Sumner, *was opposed by Mr. Everett*, his colleague, and defeated!

We cannot help contrasting this conduct of Mr. Everett with the magnanimous behaviour of Mr. Dickinson of New York, who, while in the Senate, as we learn from good authority, never would consent to any degradation of his colleague, because of a difference of political opinion, but always insisted upon assigning to him such positions as his ability and his relations to the State of New York fairly entitled him to. Would that such magnanimity were more common among politicians.

FILLIBUSTERING IN CALIFORNIA.

The newspapers are publishing a letter from one of a band of forty or fifty land-robbers, from California, who lately made a descent upon Lower California, declared its independence of Mexico, and affected to set up an independent Government.

According to the account, they went so far as to appoint a President of the new republic, and organize a Cabinet. It would seem, however, that they were unable to keep the mighty republic long on its legs, as later accounts say that they had re-embarked, and were cruising towards San Diego. The correspondent of the Baltimore *Sun* says:

"I find it stated in a New York paper, likely to be well informed, that General Almonte, the Mexican Minister, has called the attention of this Government to the fact of this buccaneering enterprise. But, if Sonora be as rich in gold as it is supposed, it will be very difficult for this Government to keep our people out of it. The Mexican Government may be induced, making a merit of necessity, to cede to us a large slice of Sonora for a fair consideration, for she cannot even defend the territory from the Indians."

If our Government is not able to punish and prevent such infamous buccaneering as this, it ought to abdicate.

To show the character and intention of these Fillibusters, it is enough to say that in their proclamation they announced for their government the *code and practice of Louisiana*. California, with all its extent, and wealth, and capacities, does not satisfy them, because it is a free State.

More energetic measures must be taken by the President to restrain these forays on Mexico, or trouble will grow out of them. Nothing would gratify a portion of our Southwestern population more than to become embroiled with that country.

Even now, we apprehend, notwithstanding the pacific tone of the Presidential Message, our relations with it are not of the most friendly nature. A telegraphic despatch dated New Orleans, December 11th, announces that our Minister, Mr. Gadsden, had demanded the immediate confirmation of the Garay grant, threatening that, if refused, the Americans would take possession of the Mesilla Valley. If negotiations have reached that pitch, to say the least, they do not promise the most peaceful results.

STANDING COMMITTEES OF CONGRESS.

The reader will find, by an analysis of the committees in the Senate, that the Slave Power as usual has assumed the control of the most important of them.

The same remark, though not to the same extent, may be made of the House committees. Houston, of Alabama, is Chairman of the Committee of Ways and Means; Bayly, of Virginia, of the Committee on Foreign Affairs; Bocock, of Virginia, of the Committee on Naval Affairs; and on all these, together with the Committees on Claims and on Territories, the slaveholders have the majority.

PUBLIC PRINTER TO THE SENATE.

The *Washington Sentinel* claims membership with the Democratic party, but represents that portion of it which has been disaffected by the policy of the Administration in regard to appointments to office. It is, in fact, an opponent of the Administration, and its support can have no other effect than to weaken the ruling party.

The election of the editor of this journal as Public Printer to the Senate, discloses the fact that there is a majority in that body, Democratic as it is known to be in its organization, disposed to act, when it sees proper, without any reference to the policy or wishes of the President.

The Washington *Star*, which has been prying into the matter, tells us that of the sixteen Whig Senators present, fourteen voted for Tucker—that Messrs. Chase, Sumner, and Seward, supported him—that he also received the votes of nine Administration Senators, viz: Weller of California, Bright of Indiana, Evans of South Carolina, Atchison of Missouri, Brodhead of Pennsylvania, Mason and Hunter of Virginia, and Wright of New Jersey.

The *Union* takes the matter to heart, and is rather ungracious to the Senate. It says:

"We have no reason to believe that the Democratic Senators who united with the Whigs and Abolitionists to defeat General Armstrong were actuated by personal opposition to him; nor have we any reason to suppose that it was the result of personal objections to the editor of the *Union*. We are forced to regard their course as dictated by political considerations; and as our support of the Administration has been constant, earnest, and zealous, we can attribute it to no other motive than opposition to the policy of the Administration. Having heretofore sustained that policy against all assaults, whether from Whigs, Abolitionists, or factious Democrats, we shall neither abate our zeal nor modify our energies under the present circumstances. We know that the President stands immovably upon his policy, and that he will not be driven from its faithful execution by any combination or coalition that may be formed, however formidable it may seem to be."

We should think that the printing of the last Congress and the printing of the present House of Representatives ought to satisfy any man of moderate acquisitiveness. The *Union* is not so easily appeased. Solomon wrote, "There are three things that are never satisfied, yea, four things say not, It is enough; the grave; and the barren womb; the earth, that is not filled with water; and the fire that saith not, It is enough." Were Solomon to give us a new edition of his Proverbs, he would add to this schedule, "a newspaper subsisting upon Government patronage, which also saith not, It is enough."

But the *Union* does not choose to consider the transaction so much in the money view, as in the light of principle. There is a majority in the Senate hostile to the Administration—the *Union* is the pillar of the Administration; hence this Senatorial blow. The *Union* is smitten on account of its devotion to Principle; the hostile majority seeks its overthrow, for the purpose of prostrating the Administration. Whigs, Abolitionists, and disaffected Democrats, have formed a vile coalition against it. It is not to be intimidated—it will confront, with a calm, determined courage, its enemies and the enemies of the Administration, and wage war against them "to the bitter end."

"It may be highly presumptuous in us to question the infallibility of Senators; but when we have good reason to believe that a deliberate coalition has been formed for the purpose of embarrassing the Administration and dividing and breaking down the Democratic party, we cannot be restrained by our respect for the Senatorial office from speaking our mind."

As to the nine Democratic Senators, "if they choose to form coalitions with Whigs and Abolitionists, they have a perfect right to do so, and they are certainly welcome to all the benefits of their new associations; but the history of the Democratic party furnishes many precedents which teach us that such defections end disastrously to those who thus seek to avenge supposed injuries, or to gratify unreasonable aspirations for political promotion. For all such, this Administration, controlled and managed by one whose Democracy has never been questioned—by one who never sought to rise upon coalitions with Whigs or Abolitionists—by one who stands by Democratic organizations as second only in importance to Democratic principles—for all such, we say, this Administration has nothing but defiance, and towards all such the *Union* will continue to direct the popular Democratic sentiment, as enemies to Democratic principles, no matter what high professions they may make."

"Enemies to Democratic principle," because they do not see proper to make the proprietor of the *Union*, Public Printer to the Senate!

As for the *Sentinel*, we have not a particle of sympathy with it, or any other paper that will descend to become a recipient of Congressional patronage. The alliance between Congress and the newspaper press here is corrupt and corrupting, inconsistent with the independence of the press, tending to subject the minority of the People's Representatives to insolent dictation. In Washington, as elsewhere, a newspaper should be obliged to rely upon its merits; and were this the rule, there might be fewer papers here, but they would be higher-toned, abler, and more independent. Divorce the newspaper press from every department of the Government—leave it in a position where it cannot be used as an instrument of Executive despotism or a proscriptive majority in Congress, but where its very existence shall depend upon the fidelity with which it shall expose the abuses of Government, and vindicate the rights and interests of the People.

THE PARAMOUNT QUESTION.

"There is no intelligent man, of any party or section of the United States, who does not know and feel that the question of Slavery is the vital question of this Republic—more important in its bearings upon the destiny of the American People than all other questions, moral, political, and religious, combined. Politicians may cry peace, peace; but there is no peace for the slaveholder. Partisan intrigues may counsel silence and submission, in the face of incessant machinations against the institution, at home and abroad. But eternal vigilance is the only word of safety for the friends of the Union and People of the South. Upon the final settlement of this question in our own National Councils and organizations, depend the commercial prosperity of the United States, the permanency of the Union, and all the hopes and destinies of mankind that are staked upon the success of Free Government."—*Richmond (Va.) Examiner*.

The *Examiner* is one of the boldest agitators in the South. Its whole course proves that it believes Slavery to be "the paramount question," "the vital question of the Republic." It is always discussing it, always denouncing the Anti-Slavery sentiment of the world, always urging, in the most offensive style, the extremest pretensions of the Slave Power. In the article opened by the paragraph above quoted, it proceeds to say that the odds against Slavery would seem to be overwhelming. Great Britain seeks its destruction, because its maintenance threatens to transfer the sceptre of commerce to this Republic. European Governments hate it, because they are "aristocratic and tyrannical, implacably hostile to this country," the basis of whose prosperity and ambition they know to be laid in Slavery. "Pharisaical religionists" and "Socialist dreamers" detest it. "The slaveholding States are begirt with a circle of fire." Open assault they have defied and baffled. The political onslaught in 1848 against them utterly failed; but the leaders on that occasion have not changed their purposes—they have become more cunning. Crying out peace, peace, clamoring for a general amnesty, they are only concerting a more deadly assault. Never was there greater need of vigilance and concert on the part of slaveholders.

The closing paragraph shows the tactics of the Slave Power, and to what it looks for support and supremacy:

"There is but one remedy for the evil—but one shield against the danger; and if the South fail to use both, she will deserve the inevitable fate that must ensue. With the audience of a heroic, patriotic, and fearless band, large in number, great in intellect and integrity, at the North, who are with us for the country's sake, the South can control the action of the Federal Government. This power should be so exercised as to 'crush out,' really and truly, the Free Soil and Anti-Slavery fanaticism. There should be no peace or truce allowed the insidious enemy. 'CRUSH IT OUT!' should be the shibboleth and the watchword. This should be the answer to every Free Soil, fanatical aspirant to office and from matter after emolument. Amnesty, pardon, peace, should only be granted to those who have fully, openly, and honestly renounced their sinful ways, and performed works meet for repentance. All other questions sink into insignificance before this, and the slang about reason to party, which flunkeyism is always ready to put forth to shield a patronage-dispensing power from fearless censure, should be scoffed at and contemned. There can be no reason where men array themselves upon the side of right and their country."

With the assistance of Northern men, slaveholders *have* controlled, to a great extent, "the action of the Federal Government" since the days of John Adams the elder; but although they have succeeded by this means in bolstering up their barbarous system against the spirit of the age, the law of progress, and the legitimate workings of the Federal Constitution, they have utterly failed to silence free discussion, to check agitation, to "crush out" the Anti-Slavery sentiment of the country, to secure for themselves *undisputed* ascendency. For more than half a century they have been laboring for a "final settlement" of all controversy in relation to Slavery, by nationalizing it, in gross defiance of the pledges implied in the Declaration of Independence, the great charter of our independent existence as a Republic—and of the known intentions of the framers of the Federal Constitution. Instead of regarding it as local, exclusively existing within State jurisdiction, a matter solely for State legislation, from the organization of the Government to this date, they have tried to exalt it to the dignity of a National Institution, to invest it with constitutional sanction, to train the People to look upon it as the corner-stone of our social and political system—to make it appear the one great National Interest—in a word, to use the Federal Union as the mere instrument of its will and benefit. They have certainly played this desperate game boldly, adroitly, and with a certain degree of success; but they have never had peace. Their pretensions have always been challenged—their usurpations always resisted, sometimes successfully—their rule has always been impatiently submitted to—their gross ambition has always provoked agitation. But they will persist in the policy which has kept them in power, and their system in jeopardy, and the country in a state of agitation for half a century. They will continue to stigmatize as dreamers, pharisees, factionists, incendiaries, fanatics, traitors, those who resist their policy. They will exact, as they have always done, that the whole American People shall bear the burden of Slavery, legislate for it, spend money for it, provide new territory for it, fight for it—and denounce those of them as fanatical, unpatriotic agitators, who decline such services. But are they fools enough to imagine that "a final settlement" of the great question is to be brought about in such a way? Is the ascendency of Louis Napoleon a "final settlement" of the question of constitutional government in France? Is the present law regulating suffrage in England a "final settlement" of popular suffrage in that country? Has the resumption by the Pope of his temporal power at Rome "finally settled" the question in controversy between him and his subjects? Is the subjugation of Italy by the bayonets of Austria a "final settlement" of the question of its independence? Is the present ascendency of Despotism in Central Europe a "final settlement" of the great controversy between Might and Right?

There is but one way of finally settling any Question; and that is, by deciding it in accordance with Truth and Justice; and the sooner this be done, the better for the cause of Peace and Concord. Human nature, by the law of its being, can rest satisfied with nothing short of this.

The only way to settle the question of Slavery, so far as the *Federal Government and the Union of these States are concerned*, is, for all parties to agree to regard and treat it as a system *strictly within State authority*, without claim to any protection *beyond that limit*—for which the Federal Government should assume no responsibility, and in relation to which it should relieve itself of whatever responsibility it has assumed. Adopt this principle, and there will be an end to Federal Fugitive Laws, to Slavery in territory of the United States, to any regulations or laws sanctioning, or giving countenance in any respect to it, or, to Slavery and the slave trade. The entire question will then be committed to the several States in which the system exists, and the only way in which it can be "finally settled" therein, will be by the enfranchisement of all classes of their population, and their investiture with the rights of freemen.

AMENDMENTS TO THE CONSTITUTION.

Mr. Mace, of Indiana, has introduced a resolution, proposing that Senators of the United States hereafter be elected by the People of the several States, instead of by the Legislatures. We trust the proposition may receive the attention it deserves. The election of Senators for six years, and by the State Legislatures, is not in harmony with the Democratic Principle, or with the doctrine of self-government. It diminishes their accountability to the People; it not unfrequently prevents the People from being fairly represented.

The People are as capable of determining who shall be Senators, as who shall be President, or Representatives. The Principle of State Sovereignty, supposed to be specially represented by Senators, would be as truly represented if they were elected by the People of a State, as it is now, when they are elected by the Legislature. And the reduction of their terms from six to four years, while it would not impair the requisite stability of the Senate, as a part of the Executive power, would bring it more under popular influence. This, of course, would be the most conclusive reason against the proposed change, with those who distrust the Democratic Principle, but not with those who believe in the ability of the People to govern themselves, and who can find little in the conservatism of the Supreme Court or of the Senate—the two bodies in our political system furthest removed from popular influence—favorable to the Cause of Progress and Humanity.

Another amendment is proposed in the House by Mr. Ewing, to the mode of electing the President and Vice President of the United States.

The *Intelligencer* remarks:

"In this latter proposition we recognise an old acquaintance, it having been heretofore several times brought to the attention of Congress by members from various sections of the Union.

"In February, 1824, Mr. Benton, Senator from Missouri, moved amendments to the Constitution of the United States, as follows:

"1. To divide the United States into electoral districts.

"2. To discontinue the use of intermediate electors.

"3. To commit the election of President and Vice President to a direct vote of the people.

"4. To continue an umpirage of the House of Representatives, when no majority is given.

"And these propositions were supported with the accustomed power of their author.

"In regard to this proposed amendment, the Hon. Rufus King, of New York, made a speech marked by his usual clearness and force. He argued principally against the centralizing influence of the proposed change. He was decided in reprobation of the 'caucus system,' (then prevalent,) and concluded in the following words:

"'All that is the work of man is, like him, imperfect. We probably enjoy a greater portion of freedom and happiness than falls to the lot of other nations; and because we desire yet more, we must be careful *not to lose what we have*, by hasty and partial alterations in our plan of government. He would therefore prefer to adhere for the present *to the Constitution as it is*, in hopes that adequate means may be devised to suppress this great and alarming *Central* [caucus] *Power*, which is now oppressing the Constitution itself by controlling and superseding its wise and well-considered provisions.'

"Well, 'means' *have* been adopted. The *caucus system* has been superseded by a system of *conventions*; but whether the popular will is more truly exercised or reflected is very doubtful, to say the least. Had Mr. King lived twenty years longer, we very much question whether his objections to Mr. Benton's plan to dispense with the machinery of electoral colleges (now so perverted from their original theory and design) would not have been much weakened, if not entirely removed."

This is an unexpected admission from so staid a journal as the *National Intelligencer*. An evil must indeed have reached a great height, when the *Intelligencer* gives countenance to any attempt to reform it. We presume nine-tenths of the People of the United States are disgusted with the Convention system of nominations, and that they would hail any change that would secure to the whole People their just rights in this matter of a Presidential election.

Mr. Benton's proposition could be taken as a basis of reform, although it might be well to substitute for the fourth, a reference to the People again, where no majority is given, of the choice between the two candidates having the highest number of votes.

At all events, let the subject be brought fairly before Congress, and fully considered, so that a wholesome change may be effected, if possible.

BASIS OF UNION IN THE OLD PARTIES.

Whig and Democratic presses are discussing the basis of union in their respective parties. It were more pertinent to discuss the causes of their divisions. Each is rent by factions, but their adherents do not seem to be aware of the fact. What fellowship has the *Union* with the *Evening Post*, or the *Intelligencer* with the *Tribune*?

No union was effected at Baltimore, by the National Convention of either party. A suspension of hostilities was agreed upon, for the single purpose of electing a President, the several factions intending to renew their struggles after that event.

The "organ" lately, in one of its thousand sermons on the Baltimore platforms, remarked that the basis of union agreed upon at Baltimore was, not an *approval* of the Compromise Measures, but merely an *acquiescence* in them, and a pledge to abide by them. Southern Whigs sneered at the remark, as indicating a change of position. The *Boston Post* and the *Richmond* (Va.) *Enquirer* back the *Union*, and charge home upon the Whigs, that their Convention went no further than the Democratic—taking the ground of *acquiescence*, not of *approval*.

This is true. Both parties through their National Conventions, authorized to speak for them, were placed upon the same platform—*acquiescence in the Compromise and resistance to Anti-Slavery agitation*.

The *Richmond* (Va.) *Enquirer* adds a remark, worthy of special attention:

"In regard to one stipulation in the Compromise, an expression of opinion was made by the Convention, and exacted of all who stood upon the platform. Of the Fugitive Slave Law the Convention affirmed—first, that it was enacted, in discharge of an obligation of the Constitution; and, secondly, that fidelity to the Constitution forbids any modification of the law which shall impair its efficiency. This is a sufficiently emphatic approval of the only feature of the Compromise favorable to the South.

"Thus, it appears that the Baltimore platform was a triumph for the South; for while it avoids any expression of approbation of those measures of the Compromise which were thought detrimental to Southern interests, it explicitly and emphatically approves the measure in which the only concession was made to the demands of the South."

Of a similar opinion is the "organ," which insists that the Fugitive Slave Law is the *vital* portion of the Compromise. But, on this point too the South is divided, for the *Charleston* (S. C.) *Mercury* says:

"The South has gained nothing but a loss by this law. It was a stupid blunder on the part of Southern statesmen. The value of the slave lost is eaten up if capture follows, while hatred to the institution abroad and opposition to it at home are increased by its *hard features* and *the barbarous enforcement of them*."

Wherein the Abolitionists entirely concur with the *Mercury*. The *Charleston* (S. C.) *Standard* goes still further, taking the ground that this "vital portion" of the Compromise is unconstitutional:

"It is true that powers, not conferred upon Congress, are reserved to the States respectively, or to the people; it is also true, that there is no power conferred by this clause (Fugitive Slave) of the Constitution upon Congress to carry its provisions into effect. *And instead of clinging to this provision of the Compromise act, as a compensation for its other most objectionable features, it might be well for us to consider whether we have not, in fact, made a concession more fatal to our separate and distinct political existence, than even the founders of the Constitution themselves were prepared to make*."

That must be a most stable basis of union, about which there are so many discordant opinions, and on which you can get no party in the country to stand.

As to the pledge to acquiesce in, adhere to, and abide by, the Compromise Measures, it has been respected by nobody. The pledge was understood to be directed against all agitation of questions relating to Slavery, and yet, everybody, North and South, has been agitating such questions, from the President down to Bennett's Herald. Almost every important election in both sections has involved this very element. Even the Supreme Bench has contributed its share to the agitation. The Compromise, in fact, was a conclusion in which nothing was concluded, but the political prospects of those most conspicuous in forcing it through Congress.

SENATOR ATCHISON AND THE TERRITORY OF NEBRASKA.

In the *Glasgow Weekly Times* of November 17th, a paper published at Glasgow, Missouri, there appears what purports to be a "Synopsis of Senator Atchison's Speech, delivered at Fayette, Monday, November 14th, 1853, reprinted for the *Times*." The topic of the speech is the organization of a Territorial Government for Nebraska.

In the first place, he takes issue with Col. Benton on the question of the legality of white settlement in Nebraska. The Colonel had asserted that three-fourths of the Territory are open to settlement—Mr. Atchison asserts that not one foot of it is open for settlement. In arguing the question, Mr. Atchison, who has been elevated to the dignity of President of the Senate of the United States, spoke of Benton's "egotism and effrontery," his "slang," "his fulsome falsehoods," "his lies," his arguments, that "would disgrace any pettifogger in the State."

"In his (Benton's) monomania, the *ignis fatuus*, self-obscures every shadow of self-respect, or regard for truth; nothing is too high or holy for his animadversions and misrepresentations. In him the honors of office and the gray hairs of age are alike prostituted to the unholy purpose of giving credit to his filthy vituperations. Even Congress by him is dragged from the high position of reflecting the sentiments of an intelligent and virtuous people, to the level embrace of a common courtesan. 'From the abundance of the heart the mouth speaketh,' is an assertion of Holy Writ, that points to the steep from which emanates all this loathsome effluvia—Benton's heart—the blackness of whose conceptions would induce a Nero to pluck it from his polluted bosom; and yet he would sit as an umpire upon the actions of Congress, which he denounces for its ignorance and stupidity."

We copy from the report in the *Times*. The Senate of the United States, of which Mr. Atchison is President, aspires, we believe, to Roman dignity and decorum.

The courtly President proceeds to submit various considerations in support of his views on the question of settlement, and then remarks—

"These arguments, which are substantially those in Mr. Manypenny's letter, he gave to Manypenny before he saw his letter—thus disproving Benton's charge of ignorance.

"Mr. Atchison asserts that Manypenny's letter was shown to the Cabinet, and contains the views of the Administration, and was deemed of such importance, that the false views of Benton should have a deleterious influence, that it was published in the organ of the Administration on the evening of the same day upon which it was written."

Mr. Manypenny has manifested some indignation against the *New York Evening Post* and *National Era*, for expressing an apprehension founded upon the reports of several Missouri papers, that he had been acting in concert with the enemies of the organization of a Territorial Government in Nebraska; but he cannot blame us in view of the avowment made by Mr. Atchison, that he "gave to Manypenny" the arguments against the settlement of Nebraska. We have been assured that this is not the fact—that Mr. Manypenny had no connection whatever with Mr. Atchison, and we give him the benefit of this statement.

But the most important part of the speech of the Senate's President relates to the Question of Slavery, as connected with the subject of a Territorial Government. We copy again from the "Synopsis:"

"Mr. Atchison had opposed Nebraska, and would oppose it, *unless the Missouri Compromise was virtually repealed*, although in the last Congress he would have waived his opposition at the solicitation of his colleague—*yet, upon mature reflection, he opposed his bill*, believing, among other reasons, that it would be an injury to Missouri, to be thus removed from the enviable position she now occupies as a frontier State. The Mexican, Santa Fe, and California trade, which she had so long possessed with such marked advantages, would then be cut off.

"He opposed Nebraska, from his unwillingness to violate existing treaties; again, he opposed it, *because it would be throwing around Missouri a cordon of free States—the tendency of which would be to still further jeopard our Slave Interest*. And lastly, *he opposed it upon principle, as its admission, upon the Missouri Compromise of 1820, would be to debar his constituents the right of carrying their property there*.

"Colonel Benton had announced in the Senate that there was *not one foot of slave territory now belonging to the United States, the stipulation in the treaty ceding Louisiana and New Mexico having excluded it. Clay and Webster having asserted the same thing, he took their word for it, and voted in this matter so to act as not to violate the known interests of his constituents, as he could not do this without violating his principles, which he never intended to do.* Policy may sometimes be compromised—principles never. Forty millions of dollars had been paid by slaveholders, in common with those of free States, for Louisiana, and theirs had been mingled with the common blood and treasure which had obtained all the territory of this great and growing country; *therefore no power beneath the sun could ever compel him to apply the Missouri Compromise in the admission of Nebraska, whereby three-fourths of his constituents would be denied the privilege of taking their property there*.

"As soon as the Indian titles are extinguished, he is willing to vote for it, *if the Missouri Compromise is not applied; otherwise he would resign before he would vote for it, and thus wantonly do violence to the sacred interests of his State*—and he would now resign, did he think the People of Missouri wished him to vote for Nebraska under these circumstances."

We have italicised the material portions of the extract. What do the supporters of the Baltimore Platform think of them? What do the "Union Savers" think of them? What does the President, what does his "organ," with their everlasting deprecation of agitation, think of them? What do the demagogues, who have been laboring to narcotize the public mind with the delusion of a "final settlement" of the Slavery Question, think of them?

The Missouri Compromise, so called, has been regarded as a finality for the last thirty-three years. As a part of the arrangement embraced in it, Missouri is a State of this Union. During the agitation of the Territorial Question in 1848, not the most ultra of the slaveholders proposed to disturb it, although repeated attempts were made to extend the line it drew between Slavery and Freedom, to the Pacific coast. And yet, the President of the Senate, after the acquiescence of one generation in this Missouri Compromise, solemnly announces his purpose to resign his place in that body, rather than vote for the organization of a Territorial Government on the basis of that Compromise! Does he stand alone? Would he, a Western Senator, dare to take a position so monstrously extravagant, if he were not assured of confederates from the South? A Compromise from which Slavery can expect advantage, we must regard as a holy covenant, its violation is a sin not to be forgiven—but should it happen in the change of events, that Liberty, and not Slavery, is to be the gainer, trample it under foot! This is the attitude of Mr. Atchison. He and his associates proceed on the assumption that the only use of the Federal Union is to nationalize and eternize Slavery.

SLAVERY IN ILLINOIS.

QUINCY, ADAMS CO., ILL., *Dec. 2, 1853*.

To the Editor of the National Era:

Recently a man in this county found a colored man in the woods, sick and emaciated with the ague, who appeared to be a fugitive slave. He took the colored man to his house, and, in the event, lodged him in jail to await a claimant. At the end of six weeks the man (or slave) was sold for his jail fees, "according to law." A man was over from Missouri at the sale, who boasted that he intended to have that fellow for a slave. A friend declared he should not, and between them he was run up to six hundred dollars, and bid off to the friend, who left him in jail, and soon got out a writ of *habeas corpus*, to ascertain the slave's right to freedom. Every man being presumed to be free till proved to be a slave, and no testimony appearing to prove him thus, he was released by the court, with testimony to that effect; and, in view of the threats to enslave him, he was cared for by those who prefer to help a man to freedom rather than to enslave him. This is only a meager outline of one incident among many. R. HUNTER.

The foregoing statement is confirmed by the Quincy newspapers. It furnishes a beautiful illustration of the workings of the Black Code of Illinois. Had it not been for the interposition of this Anti-Slavery friend, the poor man would have been consigned to Slavery for life. True, he could only be sold for one month, but there would be no legal provision for his enfranchisement at the end of that time. The Quincy *Whig*, of November 22d, remarks:

"Is it right, and we fully believe it, that one individual, who was a bidder at the sale, intended, in case he succeeded in purchasing the negro, to take him to a slave State and sell him or treat him as a slave for life. We say that we believe this, and the facts in the case that are known to the public are sufficient evidence of it."

The Legislature that enacted the infamous law under which the sale took place, provided no safeguard against such an abuse. Had the poor man been "struck off" to the Missouri bidder, he might have found himself at the end of the month on a solitary plantation on the Red river, beyond hope of redemption.

Not to say anything of Christianity, Civilization must be at a very low ebb in a State that can sanction a statute so utterly unprincipled and villanous. The distinguished Senator from Illinois, in his late tour through Europe, saw nothing under any of its mean Despotisms meaner than this statute of a Democratic State.

SIMILITUDES FROM THE OCEAN AND THE PRAIRIE.—The *Era* has already noticed the appearance of this beautiful little book, from the press of Jewett & Co., of Boston. Its real merit induces us again to call attention to it. It consists of some forty brief sketches—prose poems, or parables—illustrating from natural objects and simple life-incidents, human duty and destiny. Like Kriemacher, Lessing, and Herder—and often with equal success—the writer has adopted the method of imparting lessons of truth and wisdom, which forms one of the most attractive features of Mohammedan literature, and which lends such picturesque beauty to the old Hebrew poetry and the parables of the Divine Teacher. The style is chaste, simple, and graceful. Adapted, as it is, alike to old and young, and grave and gay, we doubt if a more acceptable gift-book for the holydays will be issued this season. J. G. W.

THE LITTLE PILGRIM.—The readers of the *Era* will need no other commendation of this admirable juvenile paper, than the simple announcement of the fact that it is edited by Grace Greenwood. Among its agreeable features, we notice that Eliza L. Sproat, whose communications for the *Era* have been so favorably received, is a regular correspondent. We cannot imagine a pleasanter family guest than the Little Pilgrim. J. G. W.

MASSACHUSETTS.

The breaking up of the coalition in this State, between the Free Democracy and a portion of the Old Democratic party—however it may be regretted at the present time, as involving the loss of the Reformed Constitution—can by no means be regarded as permanently detrimental to the cause of Liberty and Progress. No person of ordinary discernment could fail to perceive, on the election of Gen. Pierce and the promulgation of his Inaugural Message, that the disruption of the coalition was simply a question of time. The Vermilion Edict of the late Ambassador to China—peremptory and dictatorial as those of Grand Commissioner Lin—had no other effect than to hasten a catastrophe which all felt to be inevitable.

The zeal of the Attorney General has only anticipated the natural result of the affair. The manner and time of doing it, however, have been such as to stimulate and augment the strength of that very Abolitionism which it was designed to "crush out." The sparks are flying in the faces of those who sought to trample on the fire. The amount of smothered indignation and silent disgust in the Old Democratic party of Massachusetts, can scarcely be over-estimated; and there is little doubt that many of them are prepared to coalesce with us, not on local grounds alone, but upon the platform of hostility to Slavery and the Federal policy and centralizing tendencies of the General Government.

That the Free Democracy itself will profit by the new state of things, we have no reason to doubt. Its attention will no longer be diverted to local matters and side issues. It will devote itself with renewed vigor to the great question to which it owes its origin. Our friends in other States may rest assured that its leading advocates have no disposition to quarrel with each other over obsolete matters of State reform, upon which they have honestly entertained conflicting opinions. Such men as Adams, Phillips, Allen, Palfrey, Sumner, Wilson, and Dana, however they may differ on the merits of certain measures of State policy, are united in support of the great and appropriate objects of their organization, in common hatred of the Fugitive Slave Law, and in pity or scorn of those who, from desire of office or fear of Executive displeasure, give countenance to the infamous enactment.

The Free Democracy of Massachusetts have undoubtedly been embarrassed and restrained, in some degree, by their connection, even for local purposes, with men who profess to adhere to the Baltimore platform. The ukase of Gen. Cushing has relieved them of this difficulty. Standing upon their own impregnable platform, they will be able to do battle with renewed vigor for the good cause. They are not likely to lack occasion for their utmost exertions. Questions of vital interest stand half revealed in the shadow of the Future—Cuban annexation, the organization of Nebraska, the division of California, the Pacific railroad, the freedom or slavery of New Mexico and Utah—in the discussion and decision of which, the advocates of constitutional freedom will have ample exercise for all their powers of thought and action. J. G. W.

LITERARY NOTICES.

RELIGION OF GEOLOGY AND THE CONNECTED SCIENCES. By Edward Hitchcock, D. D., LL. D. Boston: Sampson & Co. For sale by Gray & Ballantyne, 7th street, Washington, D. C.

Nearly all the lectures embodied in this volume were written eight or ten years ago, and are now published with the additions and alterations made since then. The object is to exhibit all the religious bearings of geology, the facts of which have served with many for inferences against the Truth of Revelation. The author believes that Revelation and all Science are in harmony—that while the Scriptures were not written for the purpose of teaching scientific truth, there is no principle or fact stated in them, which, properly interpreted, is discredited by Science, or any legitimate inference from its phenomena. On the contrary, as the same God is the ruler of the moral and physical worlds, their great facts cannot conflict. The importance of the topics treated, as well as the motives and character of the author, will secure for the work attention and respect.

By the way, the tribute paid to his wife in the Dedication, is as beautiful as it is novel.

PUTNAM'S MONTHLY. December, 1853. New York: Putnam & Co. For sale by Franck Taylor, Pa. avenue, Washington, D. C.

Putnam's Monthly for December is marked by its usual ability and taste. It does honor to the periodical literature of this country.

BLACKWOOD'S EDINBURGH MAGAZINE. New York: Leonard Scott & Co. For sale by Taylor & Maury, Pa. avenue, Washington, D. C.

A rich table of contents in this number. Haydon's Autobiography, Brute Life in the Alpine Regions, the Romans in Scotland, Athens in 1853, A few more words on University Reform, Our Commissioner in Paris, The Narcotics we Indulge in, Poems by H. G. K., A few Facts concerning the Turkish Question.

The topics, it will be observed, generally possess peculiar interest.

THE EDINBURGH REVIEW. October, 1853. Published and for sale as above.

The opening article of this number, on the three great parties which divide the Church of England, is distinguished for the breadth of its views and the acuteness of its discriminations. The writer, himself belonging to the Broad Church Society, does ample justice to Low Churchism. The American reader, by an attentive examination of this article, will obtain a very clear insight into the composition and internal movements of the Church of England.

An article on the Newspaper Stamp presents some interesting views in relation to newspapers in England, but does not evince a very familiar acquaintance with journalism in this country.

The other papers in the Review are not particularly noteworthy.

OUTLINES OF COMPARATIVE PHILOLOGY: With a Sketch of the Languages of Europe, arranged upon Philologic Principles; and a Brief History of the Art of Writing. By M. Schele De Vere, of the University of Virginia. New York: G. P. Putnam & Co. For sale as above.

The title of this volume explains sufficiently its subject and aim. We may be permitted to question the wisdom of the author in attempting to accomplish so much in a duodecimo of 434 pages. He does not, indeed, pretend to lay before the reader novel or original views; his aim being, as he says, to state briefly, in a popular manner, and with a view to give rather suggestive than complete information, what Comparative Philology is, and what it has done.

PERUVIAN ANTIQUITIES. By Mariano Edward Rivero and John James Von Tschudi. Translated into English, from the original Spanish, by Francis L. Hawks, D. D., LL. D. Published as above, and for sale by Franck Taylor, Washington, D. C.

The authors of this elaborate and curious work are distinguished *savans*—one of them a native Peruvian. Many of the facts and speculations it presents have already been worked up by Prescott, in his picturesque History of Peru; but it embraces much more than came properly within the scope of that popular historian. Those who are addicted to curious investigations into the social life of nations now extinct, will find themselves greatly interested in this volume.

LITTLE FERNS FOR FANNY'S LITTLE FRIENDS. By the author of "Fern Leaves." Auburn, N. York: Derby & Miller. For sale by Franck Taylor, Pa. avenue, Washington, D. C.

"Fanny Fern" has become a great favorite with old and young in this country. Her works, we are assured, find a rapid sale everywhere. This little book for young folk has reached an edition of five thousand, and will probably double the edition soon. Its stories are simple, pretty, and healthful, and will be sure to win the author thousands of "little friends."

THE PICTURE PLEASURE BOOK, for 1854. Second Series. New York: D. Appleton & Co. For sale by R. Farnham, Pa. avenue, Washington, D. C.

A big quarto, on fine paper, with five hundred very attractive engravings, from drawings by the best artists, with funny little comments, explanatory, &c. If any parent desire to surprise his children with a most delightful Christmas gift, calculated to amuse them quietly, and cultivate at the same time their taste, let him present them with this Picture Pleasure Book. And, by the way, he will enjoy it as well as the young people.

THE COUNTESS DE CHARNY; or, The Fall of the French Monarchy. By Alexander Dumas. Philadelphia: T. B. Peterson & Co. For sale by Shillington & Co., corner of Pa. avenue and 4½ street, Washington, D. C.

In this book, there is less romance than history. In the slight web of incident in the life of the Countess de Charny, one of the favorites of Marie Antoinette, the author has woven the thrilling events of that memorable period of French history.

He describes, with great power, the struggles of the impotent King against the power that condemned him, like the victim of feudal tyranny, to see the strong walls by which life and hope were to be shut out forever, closing around him with resistless and inevitable doom.

The flight of the Royal family; their recapture, and ignominious return to Paris; the futility which marked all their plans, and baffled

their best friends in every effort, are described with historic accuracy—the slight embellishments of the novelist serving only to give a more vivid reality to the narrative.

Here we have the secret springs of the Revolution disclosed; the gloomy orgies of the Illuminati; the den where "L'ami du Peuple" forged the thunderbolts which he every morning hurled against the throne of France—those paper missives more potent than a thousand batteries against despotism.

In this miserable cellar, Jean Paul Marat starved and wrote, with the baleful breath of hate fanning the fire of Liberty.

The book abounds in vivid portraitures of character.

The death of Mirabeau alone would repay its perusal.

For the National Era.

THE MODERN PARABLE OF THE PRODIGAL SON.

In the Gospel, the prodigal son and the father became reconciled without the knowledge of the elder brother, who was at first very angry, but afterwards became pacified. But in the modern instance, which has been enacted before the whole world, the two brothers became reconciled without the knowledge of the father.

For a while the elder brother was most wonderfully pleased, but afterwards became sullen and angry; and during the festivities which followed, when the *fatted calf* was all ready to be served up, he demanded of his father to discard his brother, and, indeed, to turn him out of doors. The old man was exceedingly perplexed at this demand. He expostulated with his long-tried, and, heretofore, dutiful son. He endeavored to show him the impolicy and immorality of such conduct. He reminded him that he it was who had brought back his brother by his persuasions, and without consulting him; and, too, but for his return there would have been neither feasting, nor music, nor dancing, in the family mansion. Indeed, the happiness they were then enjoying would never have been theirs. But the elder brother, in spite of all these considerations, remained inexorably *hard*, when the father said to him, in a firm but not angry tone: "Son, if you had brought about this reconciliation for the good of the family, you could not have made so unreasonable a demand. You see your brother has come home at your request; that he has subjected himself to my authority, and all the rules and regulations of the family; and I see no reason why he should not share in the feast of fat things prepared for us all. I shall make him your equal in all the honors and benefits I have to bestow."

At this the *hard*-hearted brother replied: "It is true I asked this *soft* brother to return home again, for I wanted his help to get up the feast; but I intended the fatted calf for myself and my friends, and let him have the leavings of the table. I never thought it possible, after all that has happened, that you would make him my equal, and I never will consent to any such thing."

"You must, my son," replied the father; "there must be the most perfect harmony where I am."

"I never will live under the same roof with him," replied the elder son, "for I have no confidence in his principles, nor in the sincerity of his repentance. He is just as much a prodigal as ever, and you will find it out to your cost."

"I am sorry, my son," replied the father; "but if you go for such reasons, go! Go feed the swine of the rich planters of the South, and mark me! they will give you nothing better than husks for your hard labor; and when you weary of having them for your task-masters, and of sharing their husks with their slaves and swine, come back, with the love of a child and the sympathy of a brother, and my doors shall stand wide to welcome you."

"I will go," said the inexorably *hard* son, "and compel you to sue for my return." And with a sullen look, and the enmity of Cain burning in his heart towards his favored brother, he left the home of his childhood while the feast was being served up, and when last seen was travelling with his face towards the South.

G. W. B.

AMERICAN GEOGRAPHICAL AND STATISTICAL SOCIETY.

At the regular monthly meeting of this Society in New York, the President, George Bancroft, occupying the chair, Captain Walter M. Gibson was introduced by the Rev. Doctor Hawkes:

"This gentleman, he said, was well known to them by repute, in consequence of his recent extraordinary experience among the people of the East Indian Archipelago. He (Dr. Hawkes) had been so much interested in his various encounters with this truly instructive traveller, that he had requested him to communicate to the Society that which had afforded him so much pleasure and information. He believed that Capt. Gibson was not desirous at present of reading a paper on any especial subject, but would gratify them with a conversazione. Dr. Hawkes called attention to the fact that an invitation to Capt. Gibson had been considered at a former meeting of the Society.

"The President expressed a cordial welcome to Capt. Gibson, and invited him to a chair by his side; and the Captain entertained the company for about an hour and a half with some highly agreeable and graphic descriptions. He spoke of the approaches to the Archipelago—the aromatic odors, producing an effect like music upon the senses. The descriptions of travellers about the spicy gales wafting from the Banda and Amboyna islands were far from being exaggerated. He had realized on the island of Crockatra, in the Straits of Sunda, the marvellous, though now well-known fact, of being enabled to catch fish, and then boil the result of his angling without changing his position; he alluded to the hot springs of that island, and also spoke in enthusiastic terms of the submarine gardens on its shores—a delightful marine conservatory of many-colored corals and sea plants, seen distinctly at a depth of thirty and forty feet.

"He then spoke of the island of Bali, lying to the east of Java, about sixty-eight miles in length and about forty in breadth; this was principally remarkable for being so extremely populous—the inhabitants numbering not less than 920 000 at this time, and the most warlike people in the Eastern Archipelago. They were a superior race of people, many of them having brown hair and eyes, and altogether of an organization decidedly Caucasian. They were genuine Hindoos in their religious belief, and the only ones in the Eastern Islands; but their origin could not be clearly traced with any degree of accuracy, their early history being very vague, and involved in as much myth and obscurity as the rest of the people of the East. Their language was partly Sanscrit and Javanese. The Balinese, having become so numerous and over-crowded on their little island, had conceived the idea of emigrating to the larger island of Papua. If they did accomplish this exodus, there could be little doubt that they would exterminate the wretched aborigines of New Guinea, and people that great island with a race imbued with expansive and aspiring energies, as compared with the rest of the races of the East. The Balinese had signally defied the power of the Dutch.

"Captain Gibson then described an extraordinary race of beings found in the southeastern part of Sumatra."

We are sorry that we have no room for the description.

FROM WASHINGTON.—*December* 14, 1853.—I have trustworthy information from New Orleans, to the effect that a powerful filibuster expedition is preparing against Cuba, and will sail some time before the middle of February. It is intended that the entire force shall consist of some four thousand men, led by officers of tried skill and bravery, with a general who gained laurels in Mexico at their head. The enlistments are proceeding with every effort to keep the matter strictly private. Each man is subjected to the scrutiny of the Order of the Lone Star before being admitted, and is required to take an oath not to divulge the secret. It is believed that at least one member of the Cabinet is well aware of the movement. While the bulk of the expedition will sail from New Orleans, other cities will also send forth their quota to the army of Manifest Destiny. It is expected that the Creoles of Cuba will not leave these heroes in the lurch, as they did those of Lopez, but will rise to support them and achieve their own emancipation.—*N. Y. Tribune.*

A MISTAKE.—The *National Era* of the 1st inst. erroneously credits to the *Ohio Star* an article which appeared in some one of our contemporaneous journals, in favor of an early assembling of a Free Democratic State Convention.

Those are not our views. We think an early Convention would be extremely unwise and impolitic. The idea of a prompt and *close partisan* movement at this time is, in our judgment, the product of folly. We believe events of no little importance are about to transpire in political affairs—we believe changes of no little moment are about to take place in political *organizations*. We think it the part, therefore, of wisdom, to await the assembling of Congress and its discussions, the more full development of administrative policy, and the general aspect of parties, and proclivities of party men some months in the future, before any strictly party movement should be made.

Ohio Star.

FOREIGN CORRESPONDENCE OF THE ERA.

Cessation of Active Operations—Insidious Designs of the Czar—Rumors of Renewed Negotiations, &c.

LONDON, *Dec.* 2, 1853.

To the Editor of the National Era:

It seems that General Winter, of whose forward march we spoke about three weeks ago, has appeared on the banks of the Danube, and laid all the low country in the valley of its course under an aquatic contribution. The fall of rain has deluged the seat of strife, and for hundreds of miles there is but one continued marsh. Whether the belligerents will be able to find dry ground enough to fight upon, is uncertain; but if they do, Kalafat appears to be the only likely spot for a conflict, beyond mere skirmishing. Omer Pasha's bulletin of the battle of Oltenitza has been published, and confirms, to a letter, the account we gave from the spot, of the masterly strategies of the Turkish commander, and the successful issue of all his operations, up to the 5th, when a cessation of arms ensued. Lower down, at Giurgevo, and the island Mokanon, which serves as a base for military measures in that quarter, there is stated to have been some cannonading, from which the Russians suffered considerable loss; but nothing decisive can occur in that direction—and, in short, the lull, if broken at all, at present, can only be broken between Kalafat and Bucharest, should Omer Pasha not have determined to retire his corps from the former place, across the swollen river, to Widdin. Various reports of movements, and even of actions, have been circulated from Servia; but they are unworthy of credit, and for aught like the truth being known relative to that very important province, it may be either completely Russian, or utterly Turkish, for anything London can tell to the contrary.

The opening of the Prussian Legislature is, however, the most significant event of the week, for the tone of the royal speech is altogether encouraging. A single word, or the turn of a phrase, in such a document, is of great value under so critical a complication of circumstances as that which exists at the present moment; and if we scan this declaration carefully, we gather that it professes a rigid adherence to "moderation," which, after the opinion enunciated, that the conduct of Russia was aggressive, can have no other than an anti-Russian meaning. The great evil is, that Austria, as well as Prussia, does not speak out. A manly and honest "Thus far shalt thou go, and no farther," might put an end to a very portentous state of things, and prevent the effusion of much blood. Without it, the lesser war may continue to rage, Heaven knows how long; and until a spark is blown from it which will set the whole world in a blaze. A rising in Poland, for example, would alter the face of Europe, and the political relations of the great Powers. To preserve their own share of that country, Austria and Prussia must be driven to make common cause, at least *quoad*, with Russia, and thus the more wholesome ties which bind them to an opposite course be severed. This would be a sad misfortune; and even the prospect of it is one of those chances on which the perfidious policy of Russia is calculated.

Another of the chances, to which we directed attention so long since as the 3d and 10th of October, is now openly developed. The union of the Bourbon families is mainly a Prussian move, and hastened and brought about by the influence of the Czar. If the Emperor Napoleon diminishes his force in France, there may be produced a Legitimist diversion, which, whether it ended in defeat, in the restoration of Henry V, or in anarchy and massacre, would still equally serve the ambitious views of Russia, and distract the nations opposed to her aggrandizement. The game is bad, but not too desperate to play; and we may depend upon it there is no disposition in the enemy not to play it out.

The march for the Principalities, of the Russian army which occupied Poland, is a sure sign of the earnestness of Russia in this respect, and the replacement of this force by northern reserves may open the game to which we have alluded; but everywhere there is tinder enough exposed, to catch a spark, whichever way the wind blows.

Various naval affairs have taken place in the Euxine Sea, and vessels are said to have been taken on both sides, after smart actions.

But in the midst of these conflicts and fears, the rumor of another effort at negotiation acquires greater consistency; and a Congress at Paris or London, to which the plenipotentiaries of Turkey and Russia will be invited, is spoken of with more of certainty than before. It is said to be understood that the bases will be previously submitted to the belligerents and agreed to; so that, in point of fact, the preliminaries might be considered settled, and only the details remain to be wrought out. It is evident that the *statu quo ante bellum* must be the foundation for this treaty, and most probably the final adjustment would hinge on the arrangement suggested early in this correspondence, namely, the guarantee of all the Greek Christian subjects of the Sultan can require, under the protection of the great European Powers. The interference of Russia would thus be shut out, and the independence of Turkey maintained, against pretensions certainly the most futile and unjustifiable that was ever alleged as a cause for war. That Peter the Great, like Henry VIII, did declare himself the head of his church, and for the first time separate the Muscovite section from the supreme authority of the Patriarch of Constantinople, could surely never confer a right to usurp the functions of that patriarchate in the dominions of a foreign State. The whole idea is so irrational that we cannot wonder at universal opinion clinging to the hope that it has only to be met and discussed in fair conference, in order to be given up forever, and Peace established on more stable grounds than ever—the treaties of Adrianople and Kainardji being virtually repealed by the new and clear understanding of their import to Europe, and the preservation of the balance of power.

The Indian and Chinese news, since our last, amounts to very little. Fresh troops are being sent from Calcutta to Burmah, where they seem to be much wanted. The insurgents who took, still occupy, Shanghai, and, as far as can be made out, are acting on their own account; belonging to one of those secret associations by which China has been overrun for hundreds of years. Another Tartar invasion is spoken of in the north; but the population of the country bordering on Pekin is too thin to support the notion of any great movement on that side.

The Parliament is prorogued to the 3d of January, when it is probable it will meet for the dispatch of business. The strike at Preston still holds out—an unmitigated evil.

Cholera has manifested itself at Cork, as previously at Belfast; but has not extended itself in England, though exceedingly fatal where it has appeared.

There are reports of insurrectionary movements in Portugal, in favor of Don Miguel; but though his father is not popular, the young King Pedro is so hopeful that it may be presumed that there will be no serious opposition to his assuming the reins of Government. We may mention, from private authority, that both this royal scion and his brother (about fourteen years of age) have been admirably educated, and display uncommon abilities. Our informant was present at their examination, about two years ago, when they were put to their tasks like ordinary school-boys, and acquitted themselves in a manner which would have entitled them to foremost places in any rank or against any competition. Altogether, he speaks very highly of them.

Among the gossip of the day we may notice that a semi-public dinner was given at Manchester, on Tuesday, to their sweet poet, Charles Swain, by a body of about fifty friends. It was presided over by Mr. Manden, one of his oldest friends, and went off most harmonious. Mr. Bennock, to whom his volume just published is dedicated, attended from London, to assist at this justly-earned tribute, and was accompanied by Mr. Jerdan, whom Swain styles his literary father, and the fourth volume of whose autobiography has at the same date issued from the press.

Mr. Wilson Croker has had a severe attack of illness, of an epileptic character, and his friends greatly fear that his literary career is all but closed. W. W. Lockhart retired, and at Rome, the Quarterly Review is now reft of its prime supporters.

The literary world in general is rather dull, nor is there much prospect of any immediate revival.

FROM THE SANDWICH ISLANDS.

MAKAWAO MANI, HAWAIIAN ISLANDS, *September*, 1853.

To the Editor of the National Era:

My last communication for the *Era*, I closed early in May. About that time the small pox, that scourge of our guilty race, made its appearance at Honolulu, the metropolis of the islands. It was unquestionably introduced from California, either in some boxes of clothing brought down and sold at public auction, or, which is more likely, it was communicated by a sailor from that country, in his intercourse with a woman of ill fame. The hope was cherished, for a season, that the disease would be of a mild character, either from its peculiar type or from the mildness of the climate. Many of the people on all the islands had been vaccinated; and as all the physicians and many others—all, indeed, who could obtain matter—engaged at once in the work of vaccination, it did seem that in a few weeks the disease would be checked, and the people saved from the horrid death from this cause. The Hawaiian Government was as prompt and energetic as could have been expected. Two members of the Privy Council are physicians, and so soon as the disease made its appearance, all the physicians of the place were called together for consultation. Dr. Judd, as a committee from the Privy Council, met them several times. They gave written advice, which they all signed. This was taken to the Privy Council, the advice read, discussed, and adopted, and the Governor of Oahu appointed to carry it out—a thing to which he promptly attended. The work of vaccination was urged forward; stringent laws were enacted for the security of the village; temporary buildings were erected, as hospitals, at a suitable distance from the seat of business, and provisions were made for the relief of the sick, and for the burying of the dead. Still the ravages of the disease were not stayed. Some reasons for the rapid spread and fatal termination of this fearful malady—there having died 1,735 out of 4,831 cases—are doubtless these: 1. Unwillingness of the people, at first, to be carried to the hospital. This feeling was exceedingly strong. They would desert their houses through fear, and hide in the cane or bush, or enter houses which were free from suspicion of infection, and whose inmates would conceal them. 2. Spurious matter. Mr. Parke, the marshal, who has been much with the sick, was examined at a public meeting as to his knowledge of the means by which it was brought to the islands, the number vaccinated, by whom, &c. He testified that of 477 vaccinated persons taken sick, 311 were vaccinated by different physicians in Honolulu; of these, 140 had been cured. The remaining 166 were vaccinated by individuals not physicians; of these, 69 had recovered. By this, it appears that more than one half of those vaccinated, whether by regular physicians or by others, died of the small pox. Many scars which had a good appearance were of no avail—rather were the means of putting those who had them off their guard. Indeed, from some cause or other, less dependence, it seems, can be placed on these means than we have heretofore supposed. Mr. Clark, in a late *Polynesian*, gives the following: "I am told that a son of Kekaulahao, of this place, was vaccinated by a physician of Honolulu, who pronounced his scar good; subsequently had varioloid, and later still, at Lahaina, an attack of malignant small pox," of which he died. Dr. Newcomb, I am told, denied that any have died whom the physicians have vaccinated; but facts are stubborn things in the face of one who is peculiarly addicted to boasting of great skill in the healing art. 3. The great difficulty, not to say the impossibility, of keeping the relatives of the attacked from rushing to their embrace. This is so characteristic of Hawaiians, that no instruction, no entreaty, no threat—nothing but actual force—can prevent it. Common caution at Honolulu, for six weeks, would probably have saved thousands of lives, and would have confined the malady to that village, if not to the single street in which it made its appearance; and, 4. The physical state of the poor Hawaiians. Multitudes—especially at Honolulu, Lahaina, and other ports frequented by seamen—are well prepared for disease of all kinds. At such places, the vices of foreigners are ingrafted on or into Hawaiian stock. The blood of thousands is thus poisoned at the fountain, and they fall an easy prey, especially to such a fearful, loathsome disease as the one now fastened upon them. This, together with the want of care, the want of comforts in a time of sickness, and their propensity to seek relief by bathing when they are in a feverish state, sufficiently account for the great number of deaths among the Hawaiians.

As to annexation, I am still, heart and soul, opposed to the measure. I see no crisis in Hawaiian affairs which calls for it. While England and France continue faithful to their joint stipulations with the Hawaiian nation, why should citizens of the United States agitate annexation? I still feel that, as things now are, the idea of the annexation of Hawaii to the United States is *absurd* in a high degree. So far off as we are, *why* should we be drawn into the Union—State of Hawaii—with some thousand miles and more between us and our nearest neighbor, California? The annexation will be a most costly affair to all parties, especially to the United States. If we come under the "*stars and stripes*" you must protect us at any cost. Hence men-of-war, soldiers, and warlike implements—hence taxes which will make us all groan. And then the poor Hawaiians! Destruction will as surely attend or follow the steps of annexation as any effect will follow its cause. We shall have slavery upon us in some shape; and, though I hope that death and natural extinction will save the natives of the islands from the curse of slavery—of course it must—yet some race with the chain on their heel will be brought in.

I close, by copying a note from the *Polynesian* of Sept. 10th, instant:

"The Protestant missionaries at these islands have never engaged in any scheme of annexation. It has been their cherished wish that the Government may remain independent, under the present Constitution and rulers. Whatever may have been done by merchants, planters, or others, the Protestant clergymen at the islands have neither advised nor signed any memorial to the King, touching annexation.

"E. W. CLARKE.
"P. T. GULICK."

Yours, affectionately, P. S. GREEN.

We cannot concur in the opinions of our correspondent respecting the difficulties or dangers of annexation. There is no more difficulty in organizing the Sandwich Islands as a Territory of the Union, than in organizing Oregon. As to the cost of protecting them, the fact that they constitute a part of our Union will in time of peace be their all-sufficient protection, and in time of war they will be inhabited by a population that will be adequate to its own defence, with the aid that could be rendered them from our Pacific coast. We do not suppose that it is worth while for the Government of the United States to be anxious about the matter; but if the People of the islands propose annexation, and sincerely desire it, we ought not to decline the responsibility.—*Ed. Era.*

DISEASES OF THE LIVER.

When the celebrated Dr. Rush declared that drunkenness was a disease, he enunciated a truth which the experience and observation of medical men is every day confirming. The many apparently insane excesses of those who indulge in the use of spirituous liquors may be thus accounted for. The true cause of conduct which is taken for infatuation is very frequently a diseased state of the liver. No organ in the human system, when deranged, produces a more frightful catalogue of diseases. And if, instead of applying remedies to the manifestations of disease, as is too often the case, physicians would prescribe with a view to the original cause, fewer deaths would result from diseases induced by a deranged state of the liver. Three-fourths of the diseases enumerated under the head of Consumption, have their seat in a diseased liver. [See Dr. Gunn's great works.]

☞ Purchasers will please be careful to ask for DR. McLANE'S CELEBRATED LIVER PILLS, and take none else. There are other Pills, purporting to be Liver Pills. now before the public.

Dr. McLane's Liver Pills, also his celebrated Vermifuge, can now be had at all respectable Drug Stores in the United States and Canada.

CONGRESS.

THIRTY-THIRD CONGRESS—FIRST SESSION.

Tuesday, December 13, 1853.

SENATE.—Memorials and petitions of no general importance were presented.

A bill, reported by Mr. Hunter, from the Committee on Finance—to which had been referred the communication from the Secretary of the Treasury, in relation to the mode of paying members of Congress—was considered, read a third time, and passed.

[This bill provides that all moneys appropriated for the compensation of members, officers, and for contingent expenses of the Senate, shall be paid at the Treasury, on requisition drawn by the Secretary of the Senate, to be accounted for by him according to law. It makes the Secretary a disbursing officer, and gives him one thousand dollars per annum as compensation for the additional duties imposed upon him. The Secretary is to give bond in the sum of $20,000 for the faithful application and disbursement of such money as may be drawn under the provisions of the act. The accounts of the Secretary, relating to the contingent expenses of the Senate, when passed by the committee to audit and control the contingent expenses of the Senate, and certified to have been so passed, shall be deemed and held conclusive upon all the officers of the Treasury Department.]

A bill was passed, providing that the Assistant Secretary of the Treasury be appointed by the President of the United States, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate.

Mr. Gwin introduced a bill to establish a line of steamships from San Francisco to Shanghai, in China; Mr. Adams, a bill to graduate the price of the public lands, also a bill to prevent the circulation of small notes in the District.

The Senate then went into Executive session; after which, it adjourned.

HOUSE.—Mr. Stanton, of Kentucky, presented certain testimony in the contested election case from New Mexico, in which Wm. Carr Lane contests the seat of Jose Manuel Gallegos.

An order was adopted, requiring the Committee on Printing to have all extra copies of Executive Documents of not less than 200 pages, bound, at a cost not exceeding 12½ cents a volume.

The resolution of Mr. Washburne, in relation to a Pacific and Atlantic railroad, introduced yesterday, was laid on the table—118 to 75.

Mr. Bissell offered a joint resolution of thanks to Gen. Wool, which was referred to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Mr. Yates, of Illinois, moved the following resolution:

Resolved, That it is the duty of this Congress, as soon as it can determine from the reports of the surveys ordered by the last Congress the best route, to pass an act providing for the immediate commencement and early completion of said road.

This, also, was laid upon the table—119 to 68.

The House then adjourned.

Wednesday, December 14, 1853.

SENATE.—The Senate commenced business at 10 minutes after 12. Various petitions were presented.

Mr. Seward offered a resolution that all papers on file relating to the Niagara Ship Canal be referred to the Committee on Finance; which was adopted.

Mr. Brodhead introduced a bill giving further remedies to patentees; which was referred.

Mr. Adams introduced a bill granting land to Louisiana and Mississippi for railroad purposes.

Mr. Sumner offered a resolution directing inquiry as to the expediency of having the United States statutes revised and collated; which was adopted.

Mr. Dodge, of Iowa, introduced a bill to organize the Territory of Nebraska; which was referred.

At twenty minutes past one, the Senate adjourned.

HOUSE.—The House met at the usual hour.

Mr. Benton stated that by courtesy he was appointed chairman of the Military Committee; but while he was willing to serve on the Committee, he felt it inconvenient to discharge the duties of that post. Therefore he had declined, and the Committee appointed Mr. Bissell, chairman.

Mr. Norton offered a resolution instructing the Committee on Commerce to report a bill as soon as practicable for the completion of the public works, for which appropriations were made by the last Congress.

On motion of Mr. Bayly, it was laid on the table by yeas 102, nays 75, as follows:

YEAS—Messrs. Ashe, Bailey of Ga., Bayly of Va., Banks jr., Belcher, Bissell, Bliss, Bocock, Boyce, Breckenridge, Brooks, Caskie, Clingman, Cobb, Chrisman, Colquitt, Craige, Curtiss, Cutting, Davis of Ind., Dawson, Disney, Dowdell, Drum, Edgerton, Edmundson, Elliott, Ellison, Faulkner, Fuller, Goode, Greenwood, Harris of Ala., Hastings, Hendricks, Henn, Hibbard, Hillyer, Houston, Hughes, Johnson, Jones of N. Y., Jones of Tenn., Kidwell, Kittredge, Kurtz, Lamb, Lane, Latham, Letcher, Lilly, Lindsey, McDonald, McDougal, McNair, Mace, Maxwell, Mayall, Miller of Ind., Morrison, Murray, Nichols, Oliver of N. Y., Orr, Packer, Peck, Peckham, Perkins, Perkins jr., Phelps, Phillips, Powell, Pratt, Puryear, Reese, Ritchey of Ohio, Robbins jr., Ruffin, Seymour, Shannon, Shaw, Skelton, Snodgrass, Stanton of Ky., Stephens of Ga., Stevens of Mich., Stratton, Straub, Stuart of Ohio, Stuart of Mich., Taylor of N. Y., Trout, Tweed, Vail, Walbridge, Walker, Walsh, Warren, Westbrook, Witte, Wright, Zollicoffer—102.

NAYS—Messrs. Jas. C. Allen, Appleton, Ball, Barry, Benson, Bugg, Campbell of Ohio, Carpenter, Caruthers, Chandler, Chase, Clark, Cook, Corwin, Cox, Crocker, Cullom, Dick, Dickinson, Dunbar, Eastman, Eddy, Edmonds, English, Etheridge, Everhart, Farley, Flagler, Florence, Franklin, Giddings, Harlan of Ohio, Harlan of Ind., Harrison, Haven, Hiester, Hill, Howe, Hunt, Kerr, Knox, McCulloch, Macy, Matteson, Middleswarth, Miller of Mo., Morgan, Noble, Norton, Oliver of Mo., Parker, Pennington, Pringle, Ready, Riddle, Ritchie of Pa., Rogers, Russell, Sabin, Sage, Sapp, Smith of Ky., Smith of Ala., Taylor of Ohio, Thurston, Tracy, Upham, Wade, Washburne of Ill., Washburn jr., of Me., Wells, Wentworth of Ill., Wentworth of Mass., Wheeler, and Yates—75.

Mr. Bissell introduced a bill making grants of lands to the States and Territories, for the benefit of indigent insane persons. Referred to the Committee on Public Lands.

Mr. Wentworth, of Illinois, introduced a bill extending the benefit of the pension laws to all persons serving in the late war with Great Britain and the Indian wars prior thereto.

Mr. Henn introduced a bill granting homesteads to settlers on the public lands, and providing for their sale to actual settlers.

Messrs. Dawson and Grow likewise introduced Homestead bills.

More than thirty bills were introduced by various members, granting lands for railroad purposes.

On motion of Mr. Stanton, of Kentucky, the Committee on Public Buildings were directed to inquire and report by what authority an army officer has been employed to superintend the erection of the addition to the Capitol; what bond, if any, he has given for the disbursement of the money; and also to inquire what changes have been made in the plan of the building, at what additional expense, and into the expediency of placing the superintendence under the Commissioner of Public Buildings, or some other civil officer.

Several resolutions proposing extra numbers of the census document were sent to the Committee on Printing.

Mr. Chandler introduced a bill supplementary to several acts respecting copyrights. Referred to the Judiciary Committee.

Mr. Ingersoll submitted a resolution calling on the President of the United States, if not incompatible with the public interests, to furnish copies of all correspondence between this and the Spanish Government, relative to the seizure, imprisonment, and cruel treatment of Captain Beecher and the crew of the schooner North Carolina, at Porto Rico in March, 1852.

He briefly stated the circumstances in the case, remarking that three years have passed, and yet there have been no redress.

The proper way to treat with the Spanish Government is, not to wait till justice is doled out, but to make reprisals on Spanish property wherever found. It is only in this way that almost worn-out foreign Governments can be brought to terms.

Further debate arising, the resolution went over.

Mr. Washburn, of Maine, introduced a bill granting lands to Maine in aid of the European and North American railroad. Referred to the Committee on Public Lands.

Also, a bill to shorten the transit of the mails between New York and London. Referred to the Post Office Committee.

Other business of minor importance was transacted, when the House adjourned.

Thursday, December, 15, 1853.

SENATE.—It was ordered that when the Senate adjourn, it be till Monday next.

Mr. Seward gave notice of a bill for the construction of a railroad through the territories of the United States, from the Atlantic to the Pacific oceans.

On motions by several Senators, so much of the President's Message as relates to finance, commerce, territories, Indian affairs, military affairs, judiciary, postal affairs, naval affairs, public lands, roads and canals, and foreign relations, was referred to the committees on those subjects.

Mr. Hamlin gave notice of a bill to satisfy claims of American citizens for spoliations by the French.

The Senate then went into Executive session.

After the doors were opened, Mr. Dodge, of Iowa, offered a resolution to amend the rules by providing that in all cases of election of officers by the Senate of the United States, the vote shall be taken *viva voce*.

Mr. Brodhead hoped the Senator would make the resolution include, also, that Executive sessions shall be with open doors. Resolution laid over.

The Senate then adjourned.

HOUSE.—Mr. Houston, from the Committee of Ways and Means, reported bills making appropriations for supporting the Departments, and for the support of the Military Academy, for the year ending June, 1854. Referred to the Committee of the Whole on the state of the Union.

Mr. Dawson, from the Committee on Agriculture, reported Homestead bill. Similarly referred.

Mr. Sage offered a joint resolution that the Secretary of the Interior, provided he first obtain consent of Virginia, be authorized to contract for the purchase of Mount Vernon for the use of the United States, on such terms as may be deemed just and expedient, and that the same be paid out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated.

Mr. Bayly, of Virginia, moved to lay the resolution on the table, which was disagreed to—yeas 97, nays 103.

Mr Sage moved that the resolution be referred to a Select Committee, as he had noticed a majority of the members of the Committee of Ways and Means had voted to lay it on the table.

Mr. Houston moved to refer the resolution to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

Mr. Bayly moved its reference to the Committee on Military Affairs. He knew of no authority to buy land except for dock-yards, arsenals, and things of that sort.

Mr. Campbell, of Ohio, asked Mr. Bayly whether at the last session he did not report a bill in favor of paying the expenses of bringing the filibusters home from Spain? Where did the gentleman find that power?

Mr. Bayly referred the gentleman to the *Congressional Globe*, where would be found the source whence Congress supposed the power derived.

Mr. Bissell, before he could vote on the resolution, wished to know how many acres there are in the estate, how much is to be paid for it, and under whose control it is to be. He hoped it would go to the committee least likely to carry out the intention of the mover.

Mr. Letcher said the Legislature of Virginia has repeatedly said she will not cede her jurisdiction.

Mr. Giddings inquired of his colleague, Mr. Campbell, if we get the land, whether he intended to move the application of the Wilmot Proviso? [Laughter.]

Mr. Yates was for purchasing Mount Vernon, and believed there was too much patriotism in the Old Dominion to refuse jurisdiction over the territory.

Mr. Richardson opposed the resolution. The next thing they would be called to do was to purchase the battle-grounds of the Revolution.

Mr. Campbell, of Ohio, inquired whether gentlemen did not vote for an appropriation to pay for the Jackson equestrian statue?

Mr. Richardson did not remember.

Mr. Campbell thought he did.

Mr. Clingman suggested that the gentleman alter his resolution, making the purchase a subject of inquiry by a committee.

Mr. Sage acquiesced.

Mr. Bayly moved to lay the resolution on the table.

Mr. Disney moved to proceed to the bills on the Speaker's table. Agreed to.

The Senate bill regulating the manner of appointing the Assistant Secretary of the Treasury was taken up.

Mr. Ewing moved to refer it to the Committee of the Whole on the state of the Union. He believed it was the custom among civilized nations that a declaration of war should be open, public, and generally understood, that the enlightened world might judge of the propriety of principles involved.

He discovered on the part of his friend from Virginia, Mr. Bayly, a praiseworthy State pride. The other day, when the ancient prescriptive right of Virginians to hold office was assailed outrageously and unprecedentedly, his worthy friend at once rose to the defence of Virginia, and took under his protection the late librarian of the House. Now, as a Kentuckian, he, (Mr. Ewing,) though having no right to speak for Kentucky, had a right to take the Treasury Department under his protection. [Laughter.]

He did not like this mode of warfare. Let it be open and fair, not puerile and guerilla, cutting off a picket here and there. Let the good National Democrats come out with true courage. He was willing, if the war was to be upon the Secretary of the Treasury, to let it begin. Mr. Guthrie is the best of the whole band, and he might say, with Falstaff, "villanous company has been the spoil of me." [Laughter.] He is a reliable, courageous, able man, and he (Ewing) had known him for twenty years.

Mr. Guthrie has been forced into the N. York arena, but all men have their faults and weaknesses. Like Dogberry, "to be a well-favored man is the gift of nature, but reading and writing come by nature." [Laughter.] It is not the nature of all men to write with ability. It may be unfortunate, but he felt for Guthrie as a Kentuckian. [Laughter.] Do not assail the Secretary by aiming an indirect blow at his Assistant. His friend from Virginia, several years after the office of Assistant was created, now discovers that it is proper that the Assistant shall be confirmed by the Senate.

Mr. Bayly said it appeared to him the act creating the office passed during the last session.

Mr. Ewing replied that this mode of answering the question was to entrap young, unsophisticated members like himself. [Laughter.] The law was passed by a Democratic Congress, but having, unfortunately, got a Kentucky Secretary of the Treasury, it was now sought to deprive him of the power to appoint his Assistant. He called on the organized Democracy—the all-absorbing Democratic party, composed of so many elements—to refuse to yield to a refractory Senate, sitting in judgment on the appointment of an Assistant Secretary. They will have to come out in open war; and when they do, he would be found on the side of the Administration. [Laughter.]

Mr. Houston said the gentleman was welcome to his witticisms, but when he came to examine the case he would find that he was not justified in his remarks. It is not a fact that the object of the bill is war on Mr. Guthrie, or anybody else. It is only the Assistant Secretary, whose nomination is not confirmed by the Senate.

Mr. Ewing replied, that not wishing to be said to be refractory, he withdrew his motion.

Mr. Stanton, of Tennessee, was for requiring the Assistant Secretary to be confirmed by the Senate.

Mr. Hubbard said enough had transpired to show this is not the time for final action on the bill, as its bearings should be ascertained. He moved its reference to the Committee of Ways and Means.

Mr. Wentworth, of Illinois, said it was no use to disguise the issue. The blow was aimed at the Secretary of the Treasury. He honestly believed it, and would vote accordingly. He did not approve of carrying water on both shoulders. The sooner it is known who are for and against the Administration, the better. Why not meet the issue? For himself, he was inside the party.

Mr. Disney proclaimed himself a friend of the Administration, but no consideration should deter him from discharging his duty as a free and independent representative. He then opposed the pending amendment of Mr. Jones, of Tennessee, to make the appointment of Assistant Secretary of the Treasury hereafter confirmable by the Senate.

Mr. Jones, of Tennessee, defended the amendment.

Mr. Bayly explained his position on the subject; and, while he was speaking, Mike Walsh rose to a question of order, and asked whether Virginia had the monopoly of speaking on the floor.

Mr. Breckenridge moved that the bill be referred to the Committee on the Judiciary. Pending which, the House adjourned till Monday.

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NORTHWESTERN DEMOCRACY AND FREE DEMOCRACY.

LETTER OF S. P. CHASE TO A. P. EDGERTON.

CINCINNATI, *November* 14, 1853.

Hon. ALFRED P. EDGERTON, *Representative in Congress from the 5th Congressional District of Ohio:*

SIR: On the 3d of September last the Democratic Convention of the Representative District composed of the counties of Williams, Paulding, and Defiance, (three names which have some significance for plotters against Liberty,) rejected certain resolutions endorsing the Baltimore Platform and the President's Inaugural by the emphatic and decisive vote of eighty-one to eleven. The rejected resolutions were these:

"*Resolved*, That we adopt the principles of the late Democratic National Convention, held at Baltimore, as set forth in the resolutions of said Convention, as our own, and hold them to be the sentiments of this Representative District.

"*Resolved*, That we endorse and approve the sentiments and policy of the Administration of the Government of President Pierce, as promulgated in his Inaugural Address, and so long as the measures embraced therein be faithfully carried into effect, as we are assured they will be, the true interests of the Union, the States, and the citizens thereof, will be best promoted."

In a note addressed to the editor of the Defiance *Democrat*, published in his paper of September 10th, you expressed your disbelief that the rejection of these resolutions by the Convention was "really any indication of the sentiment of the Democracy" of these counties, and you added—"if it is, then there is a *Chased* majority and *Chaste* minority in the District;" and you gave notice that you would "shortly publish a protest against the action of the Convention."

That protest I never saw until some weeks since. In your original note you referred, unmistakably enough, though not perhaps in the best taste, to my political position as identical with that of the Democracy of the District, indicated by the action of the Convention. This reference has induced me to read your protest, in which I find some things which seem to me to require comment.

The bad pun of your original note contained, I think, some injustice and some assumption. It was unjust to the majority of the Convention to intimate that their political principles were, in any sense, taken from me. You might much more truly have said that I adopted mine from them; for I was accustomed to admire the boldness and decision with which the Democracy of the Northwestern counties maintained Democratic principles, in their application to all questions, long, probably, before they had heard of me. It was certainly nothing less than assumption to intimate that the minority which sustained the Baltimore platform, Fugitive Slave Act included, were in any sense purer or better than the majority which rejected it.

I am pleased to observe that you disapprove of harsh epithets as "unkind in feeling" and "contemptible in argument," and shall endeavor, in what I have to say, to be guided by your precept, rather than by your example; for if you have read your piece since it has been in print, you cannot have failed to remark, that it is by no means free from the very fault you so justly condemn. You speak, for example, of the opponents of Slavery as "the higher-law and spirit party which insults morals and religion, and gives the unbridled *reign* (a misprint, I suppose, for *rein*) to licentiousness." In another place you charge them with "traitorously" seeking to violate a certain article of the Ordinance of 1787. In still another place you paint a wretch lost to every honorable, every manly sentiment, regardless of morals and religion, a pretended friend but actual robber of the poor, and you seem to hold him up as a representative of those who refuse implicit obedience to the mandates of party Conventions and party leaders, and whom you, therefore, stigmatize as "disappointed and unprincipled politicians." Your theory of political discussion is good; but your practice does not precisely correspond with it.

But let me come at once to the substance of your letter.

You say that it has been charged by "resident and itinerant Free-Soilers"—by which terms you think fit to designate the Independent Democrats—"that the Baltimore platform committed the Democratic party of the nation to sustain the institution of Slavery."

This charge you deny. You contend that "the objectionable resolutions of the Baltimore Convention did not and cannot commit the Democratic party to sustain the institution of Slavery." You say that you "have such an exalted idea of its origin, character, career, and destiny," that you are "precluded from entertaining any such opinion."

The question whether the Baltimore platform "commits the Democratic party to sustain the institution of Slavery," is one of fact. It cannot be settled by the "exalted ideas" of anybody. It must be determined, like all similar questions, by the evidence.

Now, what is the evidence? The platform of the National Convention of a party is the best evidence of what that party is committed to. Read, then, these resolutions of the National Convention of the Democratic party, held at Baltimore in May of last year.

"*Resolved*, That Congress has no power under the Constitution to interfere with or control the domestic institutions of the several States, and that such States are the sole and proper judges of their own affairs not prohibited by the Constitution; that all efforts of the Abolitionists or others to induce Congress to interfere with the question of Slavery, or to take incipient steps in relation thereto, are calculated to lead to the most alarming and dangerous consequences; and that all such efforts have an inevitable tendency to diminish the happiness of the People, and endanger the stability and permanency of the Union, and ought not to be countenanced by any friend of our political institutions.

"*Resolved*, That the foregoing proposition covers and was intended to embrace the whole subject of Slavery agitation in Congress; and, therefore, the Democratic party of the Union, standing on this National Platform, will abide by and adhere to the faithful execution of all the acts known as the 'Compromise Measures,' settled by the last Congress, the act for the reclaiming of fugitives from service or labor included; which act, being designed to carry out an express provision of the Constitution, cannot, with fidelity thereto, be repealed, or so changed as to destroy or impair its efficiency.

"*Resolved*, That the Democratic party will resist all attempts at renewing, in Congress or out of it, the agitation of the Slavery question, under whatever shape or color the attempt may be made."

If these resolutions do not commit the National Democracy to the support of Slavery, what do they commit it to?

The first resolution, to be sure, in its first clause, announces a correct doctrine. It declares, simply, that Congress cannot interfere with State legislation on any subject, in any case, except where the Constitution expressly confers on Congress legislative power. The inference is clear and sound, that inasmuch as the Constitution confers on Congress no power to determine the relations of persons to each other within the limits of the several States, Congress cannot, by any exercise of legislative power, set aside the legislation of any State, authorizing the relation of master and slave. Such legislation may be inhuman, unjust, and anti-democratic, but Congress cannot set it aside.

The other clause of the first resolution admits of different interpretations. As construed by some, these clauses apply as well to *Pro-Slavery* efforts as to *Anti-Slavery* efforts, and condemn *all* interference by Congress with questions of Slavery. Taken in this sense, these clauses would not be very objectionable. Every intelligent man knows that Slavery, outside of State limits, could not exist, under our Constitution and system of Government, without the interference of Congress. Remove this interference—take away the support of Congressional legislation, and it would necessarily disappear. There would then remain no Slavery, except that within the limits of particular States under State legislation. The example and influence of the General Government would be on the side of Freedom; and under this influence, and that of Universal Opinion and Enlightened Conscience and Reason, State Slavery, through the constitutional and unobjectionable action of the State Legislatures, would finally be brought to an end.

But these clauses are interpreted by many in a very different sense. By many it is claimed that the only interference of Congress designed to be condemned is interference *against Slavery*, not only within State limits, but outside of State limits, and where it exists solely through National legislation, as, for example, in the District of Columbia. Interference of Congress for the maintenance, perpetuation, and support of Slavery, is all right; interference for the prevention of the increase, for the mitigation of the evils, or for the final eradication of Slavery, is all wrong.

Never, in the free States, was this last interpretation of this resolution openly advocated, until since the last Baltimore Convention. It was the object of that Convention, by the two last resolutions which I have quoted, to *fix* this interpretation upon the first resolution, and to commit the Democratic party to the detestable doctrines of oppression.

It makes very little difference what "exalted ideas" you or I, or any other man, may have of "the origin, character, career, and destiny," "of the Democratic party," by which we may hold ourselves "precluded from entertaining any such opinion." There stand the resolutions, and their language is plain and unequivocal.

They declare that the language of the first resolution "covers, and was intended to embrace, the whole subject of Slavery agitation in Congress;" that "the Democratic party of the Union will abide by and adhere to the faithful execution of all the acts known as the Compromise measures, the act for the reclaiming of fugitives from service and labor included;" that this last "act, being designed to carry out an express provision of the Constitution, *cannot* with fidelity thereto *be repealed*, or so changed as to destroy or impair its efficiency;" and, finally, that "the Democratic party will *resist* all attempts at renewing, *in Congress or out of it*, the agitation of the Slavery question, under *whatever shape or color* the attempt may be made."

These resolutions commit the National Democracy to these things, namely:

1. To the Compromise measures of 1850, and, especially,

2. To the Fugitive Slave Act, irrepealable and unchangeable, in any respect impairing its efficiency;

3. To the suppression of all discussion of the Slavery question everywhere.

Now, suppose there had been a Congress composed of Representatives from Austria and Hungary, in which acts had been passed for the settlement of the differences between the two countries, by which acts all that Hungary claimed of Liberty and Independence had been compromised away; and provisions had been made for the surrender to Austrian dungeons of all who had dared to fight for Freedom in Hungary; and suppose, further, that a political party, calling itself Democratic, but resolved on securing, at any price, the support of Austrian oppressors, had assembled and passed resolutions, pledging its adhesion to *those* compromises and *that extradition* act; and had moreover declared its fixed determination to suppress all agitation for Hungarian Liberty and Independence—would you not think that this action committed that party to the support of Austrian despotism?

How, then, can you fail to see that the action of the Baltimore Convention committed the Democratic party to the support of Slavery—that horrible system of American Despotism? Perhaps the reason you do not see is—that you shut your eyes.

In another part of your letter, you say "the regulation of Slavery is not a part of our Constitution; neither can it be engrafted upon it without destroying its free character; for one or the other, Slavery or Freedom, must acquire the ascendency; and the power of Congress to legislate upon the subject, is denied by the Democratic party; and even the Abolitionists do not contend that we can interfere with it in the States. How, then, can the party *sustain* or *abolish* an institution upon which it cannot even legislate?"

If I correctly apprehend the meaning of these sentences, you assert the following propositions:

1. That the Constitution of the United States confers on Congress no power to legislate in respect to Slavery.

2. That the power of Congress to legislate upon the subject is denied by the Democratic party, and that this denial is not restricted merely to legislation within State limits; for which you say "even the Abolitionists do not contend," but extends to all legislation on Slavery, inside or outside of State limits.

3. That Congress having no power to legislate, the Democratic party can "neither sustain nor abolish" Slavery.

The fundamental proposition of this series is, that Congress has no power to legislate on the subject of Slavery. This proposition, as an original one, was sound. Had there never been any legislation by Congress, it would be sound now. It is an indisputable corollary of it, that all past legislation on the subject of Slavery is null and void. But it does not follow that Congress has no power to repeal acts heretofore passed without constitutional authority on this subject.

Your argument is: Congress has no power to legislate on Slavery, therefore Congress cannot touch the subject of Slavery in the District of Columbia, in the Territories, or on the seas; or prohibit the sale of men, women, and children, under Federal process; or repeal the Fugitive Slave Act.

My argument is: Congress has no power to legislate on the subject of Slavery; but Congress has legislated without power; and, under these unauthorized acts, Slavery exists in the District of Columbia and in the Territories; the slave trade is prosecuted on the high seas; the slave hunt is prosecuted on the land; and auction sales of men, women, and children, are held throughout the slave States by United States marshals, executing the process of Federal courts; these acts are unconstitutional, because Congress has no power to legislate on the subject; and, therefore, it is the duty of Congress to repeal those acts.

All that the opponents of Slavery ask, is that Congress will *act* within, and not beyond, the Constitution. But you, having laid down a correct proposition, are the first to break over it, by insisting, in substance, that usurped powers, once exercised, are never to be questioned.

You are not ignorant that in the District, in the Territories, on the high seas, in the free States in the case of escaping slaves, and in the slave States in the execution of Federal process by the sale of slaves, Slavery is regulated by Congress. You know that in all these cases Congress has legislated on the subject of Slavery. And yet you assert that it is denied by the Democratic party that Congress can undo what it has unconstitutionally done; that it can repeal acts which it has unconstitutionally passed. If this is not the true import of your assertion; if you do not mean that Congress cannot interfere with the Slavery which it has itself unconstitutionally established or continued—that is to say, with all Slavery not existing within the limits of the organized States of the Union, and under the laws of those States—what do you mean? What is the import of your language?

There are those who assert the power of Congress to establish or abolish Slavery at pleasure, wherever it possesses general legislative power. You do not concur with these. I concur with them only in the position that Congress may abolish Slavery within the sphere of its exclusive jurisdiction; not on the ground of general power over the subject of Slavery, but only upon the ground that every legislative body has the right and is bound in duty to repeal its own unconstitutional acts.

But what do you mean when you assert that "the power of Congress to legislate upon the subject of Slavery is denied by the Democratic party?" By what Democratic party? Even the Baltimore Platform only denies the constitutional power of Congress to interfere with or control the domestic institutions of the States. Even the Baltimore Convention was not bold enough to deny the power of Congress to put an end to Slavery within the sphere of exclusive National jurisdiction. Even that Convention did not venture to put the maintenance of the Compromises, the execution of the Fugitive Slave Act, and the suppression of Slavery agitation, on any such ground as want of constitutional power to do otherwise. Unquestionably, then, you are mistaken in saying that the power of Congress to legislate on the subject of Slavery is denied even by the party represented by the Baltimore Convention.

Much less is it denied by the Democracy of Ohio, or by many prominent Democrats in Ohio. I speak, of course, of the Old Line Democracy. Everybody knows that the Independent Democracy demand the divorce of the National Government from Slavery as sternly and uncompromisingly as General Jackson demanded its divorce from the Banks.

Let me ask you to read once more the Platform of the Old Line Democracy of Ohio on this subject. You were formerly familiar with it. If my memory does not deceive me, you were a member of the Convention which originally adopted it. Certainly, you have been a prominent member, since, of at least one Convention by which it was reaffirmed. It is quite probable, however, that devotion to the new National creed, which, as a member of the National Committee of the Baltimore Convention, you, doubtless, think yourself bound to defend, may have obscured the doctrine of the State Platform in your recollection; and it may be well, therefore, to refresh your memory with a perusal of it:

"*Resolved*, That the people of Ohio now, as they always have done, look upon Slavery as an evil, and unfavorable to the full development of the spirit and practical benefits of free institutions; and that, entertaining these sentiments, they will at all times feel it to be their duty to use all power clearly given by the terms of the National compact, to prevent its increase, to mitigate, and finally to eradicate, the evil; but be it further

"*Resolved*, That the Democracy of Ohio do at the same time fully recognise the doctrine held by the early fathers of the Republic, and still maintained by the Democratic party in all the States, that to each State belongs the right to adopt and modify its own municipal laws, to regulate its own internal affairs, to hold and maintain an equal and independent sovereignty with each and every State; and that upon these rights the National Legislature can neither legislate nor encroach."

These resolutions prove, beyond a question, that the power of Congress to legislate on the subject of Slavery is not denied by the Democratic party of Ohio. These resolutions distinctly affirm the duty of using all power conferred by the Constitution to prevent the increase, to mitigate the evils, and to promote the final eradication of Slavery. And it would be silly and preposterous to affirm the duty of "using power," if no power exists.

So leading Democrats throughout the State have ever thought. In many counties, resolutions have been adopted by Democratic Conventions, expressing distinctly and emphatically that abhorrence of Slavery which every genuine Democrat must feel, and declaring the sense in which the resolutions of the State Convention were understood by the people. Nowhere were these demonstrations more numerous than in the northwestern district, which you represent in Congress. The following extract from a resolution adopted on the 4th of September, 1850, by the Convention which nominated you for Congress, well expresses the honest sentiments of the Democratic masses in respect to Slavery.

"As Democrats, we look upon human Slavery as a great evil, a blighting curse, a rust spot on republican institutions; and, so regarding it, we are utterly opposed to any act of Congress for its extension over one foot of ground not already cursed with it; and that therefore we deeply deplore and emphatically condemn any *compromises* of the Territorial questions now agitating the country, by which one foot of land, now free, may be blighted with the burning reproach to a nation of Democrats."

In Lucas county, the Democratic Convention, held on the 15th of August, 1849, thus declared its sentiments:

"We believe, with the fathers of the Republic, that human Slavery is a moral, social, and political evil; and that, and without the slightest interference with the legislation and independent sovereignty of the several States, Congress ought, in the opinion of this Convention, to use its constitutional powers to prevent the increase, to mitigate, and finally eradicate, the evil of Slavery; among which powers we recognise that of prohibiting Slavery in all places under exclusive National jurisdiction, and especially in the District of Columbia, in our National Territories, and in American vessels on the high seas, and the power to separate the National Government from all support of Slavery, and from all responsibility for its existence, by the repeal of the act of 1793 in relation to fugitives from labor, and other appropriate action."

Such are the sentiments of the Democracy of your district. For those of the Democracy of the State, outside of the resolutions of the State Convention, we may look with great propriety to the declaration of the first Democratic Governor, elected on the Ohio Platform. Turning, then, to Gov. Wood's Inaugural Address, delivered in December, 1850, we find the clearest and most explicit expressions of hostility to Slavery, in precise coincidence with the State Platform, and showing beyond all reasonable controversy that he regarded that platform, not as an unmeaning declaration of a barren faith, but as a significant exposition of Democratic doctrine, capable of practical application. Thus he spoke of the extension of Slavery in these terms:

"The Democratic Party ever has and ever will oppose either the diffusion or the extension of Slavery into any free territory of the United States, by any legal and constitutional means, and would rejoice if any mode, not doing violence to others, could be devised to overthrow and eradicate the evil."

Of Slavery in the District of Columbia, he thus spoke:

"That Congress, having, by the Constitution, authority to legislate for the District of Columbia, may there abolish it, I entertain no doubt." "I have ever viewed the abolition of Slavery in the District, *not only as a matter of expediency, but of absolute right to the colored race.*"

And in relation to the Fugitive Slave Act he thus expresses himself:

"A law that makes ex parte evidence conclusive of the master's right to recapture and return his slave; that denies a jury trial, here or elsewhere; that provides for the appointment of swarms of petty officers to execute it; that gives a double compensation to find every claim in favor of the master; and pays the expenses in any case from the public treasury, can never receive the voluntary co-operation of the people."

Nobody can doubt, I think, with this array of evidence before him, that you are altogether mistaken in your assertion that the power of Congress to legislate on the subject of Slavery is denied by the Democratic party. Those who believe with me, that Congress had no original power to legislate on that subject, believe, nevertheless, that Congress may and should remove the Slavery which it has unconstitutionally established or continued, and now maintains by its unauthorized legislation; while those who believe—and I am happy to be assured that there are few in Ohio—that Congress has power to establish Slavery in places under its exclusive jurisdiction, believe also that Congress may abolish it.

You may say that some who concurred in the declarations I have quoted have avowed other opinions since. That may be. I am not ignorant, nor are you, of that great Slavery Interest, wielding a capital, invested in human beings, of not less than fifteen hundred millions of dollars, and controlling, directly, the political action of near half the States, and exerting a potential influence over that of all the rest—that great concentrated money and political power, in obedience to which politicians "turn around and turn around" with as much facility as Jim Crow ever performed his fantastic evolutions at the command of his master. I am not ignorant, nor are you, how many, elected to represent the interests of farmers, mechanics, laborers, and traders, of the free States, when they reach Washington, devote their most assiduous efforts to secure their own elevation through the favor of the Slave Power, in utter disregard of the real sentiments and interests of their constituents, relying upon party drill and the favor of an Administration, itself indebted to this power for its existence, to keep the voters in the traces at home. It is not strange that, under such circumstances, some who once declared strongly in favor of Freedom, have since professed themselves in favor of Slavery. But the convictions of the people do not so easily change. They may for a time deviate from the line which those convictions require them to pursue under the influence of party; but it will only be for a time.

An experiment, recently tried under your own auspices, ought to convince you of this. In the Senatorial Convention of the district in which you reside, a resolution was offered, declaring the "principles of the State Platform on the subject of Slavery to be the sentiments of the Democratic party of the district," and "cordially approving and endorsing those principles." This resolution was rejected, and instead of it, a resolution was adopted, declaring that "the Democracy of the district adhered to the principles of the Democratic party, *as declared in the last Baltimore Convention*, and also *in the Ohio Convention of January 8th*, 1853." Another resolution was adopted, declaring the opposition of the Convention to all combinations or alliances with Free Soil, Temperance Alliance, or other similar organizations. This Convention nominated for Senator, Mr. Gilliland, a gentleman of character and qualifications suited to the post, but understood to be identified in interest and sympathy with the pro-slavery majority of the Convention. He was defeated by an Independent candidate—an event, I believe, which never happened in that district before. I understand that other causes, besides the Baltimore leanings of the Convention, contributed to this result; but it will hardly be denied that, had no external influences prevailed with the Convention to take a pro-slavery position, Mr. Gilliland would have been elected. The event is worthy of consideration by politicians who want to know how far they can be permitted to go in the service of the Slave Power, without forfeiting support at home.

There are other matters discussed in your letter, upon which I wish to make some observations; but I must be brief in what I have yet to say.

You do not question the constitutionality of the Fugitive Slave Act. I do. I am aware that it has been held to be constitutional by several of the judges of the Federal Supreme Court, and may be by all. These judges are men, and therefore not infallible. Five out of the nine are from the slave States, and are therefore biased, at least. Three of the remaining four were appointed, no doubt, with express reference to their "soundness" on the Slavery question, and are, therefore, not absolutely impartial. The opinion of these judges, therefore, weighs little with me, against plain facts of history and the plain language of the Constitution. History shows that the framers of the Constitution did not design to confer on Congress any power to legislate concerning fugitives from service; while the language of the Constitution repels the idea that any such power is conferred in fact. The Constitution declares that powers not delegated to the United States, nor prohibited to the States, are reserved to the States or to the people. "Upon this ground," said Mr. Jefferson, "I consider the foundation of the Constitution as laid." Now, no power is delegated unless expressly granted, or necessarily implied from an express grant of some other power; and it is impossible for anybody to put his finger on any clause in the Constitution in which the power to enact the Fugitive Slave Act is expressly given, or from which it must be necessarily implied.

Such is the short and simple argument, easily apprehended by every man, by which the unconstitutionality of the Fugitive Slave Act is demonstrated. Other arguments equally conclusive may be drawn from the manifest incompatibility of some of its provisions with plain and positive provisions of the Constitution. But I must not dwell on these.

It gratifies me to see that you do not accede to the doctrine of Finality. You say, "So far as the Baltimore Platform pledges the Democratic party to the acknowledgment of the constitutional obligation of a Fugitive Slave Act, I agree with it, and no further; and my construction of the resolutions is, that this was as that was intended." Take care, my dear sir. A mere acknowledgment of the constitutional obligation of *a* Fugitive Slave Act, was by no means what the Slave Power wanted. A Fugitive Slave Act had passed, and was on the statute book. An endorsement of that—pledged to sustain that, unrepealed and unchanged by any modification impairing its efficiency—was what the interest of Slavery demanded. And this is exactly what the slaveholders got. Your construction of the resolution, you may depend upon it, is not their construction. We shall see if you adhere to yours at Washington.

The existence of a Fugitive Slave Act is, you say, a "constitutional obligation," which, although you "regret," you cannot "avoid." I have shown that it is not a constitutional obligation, but an unconstitutional usurpation. But supposing Congress to have power to legislate on the subject, I should like to know what peculiar obligation would require the exercise of this power more than of other like powers. The provision in respect to fugitives from justice is in the same article with that relating to fugitives from labor. The legislation of Congress is extremely defective on this subject, and is utterly nullified in some States by State legislation. For example, in Kentucky, if the Governor of Ohio demands a fugitive charged with kidnapping, he is not surrendered under the act of Congress; but, when arrested, is sent before a judge for examination; and if the judge finds that the act was done under such circumstances as not to amount to kidnapping under the laws of Kentucky, the surrender is refused absolutely. Is there not as strong a constitutional obligation to secure the prompt extradition of fugitives from justice, as to secure the prompt extradition of fugitives from service? Then there is another clause, right alongside of these two, stipulating that the citizens of each State shall enjoy the privileges and immunities of citizens in the other States. In open contempt of this provision, South Carolina, Louisiana, and other States, imprison the colored citizens of Massachusetts, New York, and Ohio, who, in the prosecution of their employments, enter those States, merely because they are colored. Why does not your sense of "constitutional obligation" lead you to propose some measure to secure to those persons the benefit of this constitutional provision, thus wantonly disregarded?

The truth is, I fear, that this "constitutional obligation" is little felt except when the Slave Power is to have the benefit; and then, if not felt, it is invented.

You regard the Independent Democracy as a faction, and profess great horror of such an organization. You represent the Independent Democrats, whom you designate as "Free-Soilors," as mere seekers for office, "not half so honorable in their course as the real political Abolitionist, who attacks the Constitution and favors a dissolution of the Union." You must be strangely ignorant of matters you undertake to discuss, for your statements of facts are exceedingly wide of the truth, and I do not believe you capable of intentional misrepresentation. There is no such person as a political Abolitionist, who attacks the Constitution and favors a dissolution of the Union—at least, I have never met with such a person. There is a class of Abolitionists, of whom Mr. Garrison is the recognised leader, who denounce the Constitution and advocate Disunion; but they are not political Abolitionists; they refuse to vote or take any part in political action. Political Abolitionists are found in all parties. He who believes Slavery to be a great wrong, and desires to promote its abolition by political action, is a political Abolitionist. If he thinks his end can be best secured through the Whig party, he will unite with the Whig party; if through the Old Line Democracy, with the Old Line Democrats; if through the Independent Democracy, with the Independent Democrats.

But, in your esteem, the Independent Democracy is a faction; and you quote Mr. Madison's description of a faction, and apply it to that organization. Mr. Madison's idea of a faction is, "a number of citizens, whether amounting to a majority or minority of the whole, who are united and actuated by some common impulse of passion or of interest, adverse to the rights of other citizens, or to the permanent and aggregate good of the community." To me this description seems to apply much more exactly to the National Democracy, so called, organized upon the Baltimore Platform, than to the Independent Democracy. What interest binds the Independent Democrats together, it is hard to see. You say, indeed, it is a desire for office. But surely you know better. Very few have found, while many have lost, office by adhering to their organization. If office be the great object of desire, the Baltimore Democracy, at present, offers the nearest and surest path. Indeed, some are so fortunate in that organization as to secure two offices at once.

It is very obvious, then, that so far as "the common impulse of interest" is to be taken as the characteristic of a faction, the Baltimore Democracy is indicated, rather than the Independent Democracy. Again: the Baltimore Democracy is organized, not merely for the purpose of securing offices to its adherents, but with special reference to a single class interest. To protect the interest and satisfy the demands of the slaveholding class, every public, every private consideration, is made to bend. No matter how adverse these interests and those demands may be to "the rights of other citizens," or to "the permanent and aggregate good of the community," they must be protected and satisfied at every hazard. Therefore it is that all the energies of the Administration are put in action to give effect to the Slavery Resolutions of the Baltimore Platform. No man can be appointed to any National office who will not promise implicit submission. The *Washington Union*, the organ of the Administration, declares expressly, that "no man has been appointed to office by the President, who does not stand upon the *pledge* of a faithful adherence to the Compromise measures, as a *final* adjustment of the Slavery issues;" and no man can stay in office who dares to utter a word of opposition to these Compromise measures. The same *Washington Union* declares that "the President has had no hesitation in avowing his policy *on all occasions*, and in declaring, *with emphatic distinctness*, that he would unhesitatingly remove any man from office who should *deny* the *finality* of the adjustment made by the Compromise measures. Even you, Mr. Edgerton, would come within the sweep of this declaration, if you held office under Presidential appointment; for you I almost tremble when I write—you, rash man, "voted against the finality of the Compromise acts, believing there could be no such thing as finality!" In the very letter I am commenting on, you have ventured to put this in print.

If these declarations of the *Washington Union* were unsupported, they might be disregarded. But the Attorney General sustains the *Union* with the above weight of Presidential authority. In his recent letter to Mr. Frothingham, of Boston, he makes this solemn announcement: "If there be any purpose more *fixed* than another in the minds of the President and those with whom he is accustomed to consult, it is that the dangerous element of Abolitionism, under whatever guise or form it may present itself, shall be *crushed out*, so far as this Administration is concerned." By "Abolitionism," the Attorney General means just such opposition to Slavery as the State Platform of the Ohio Democracy declares it is the duty of the People to make it. It is living, earnest, practical, working Democracy, applying, within the limits of the Constitution, its grand and beneficent doctrines of Equal Rights and Equal Justice to the practice and system of slaveholding, as boldly and as directly as to any other subject. It is this Democracy that is to be "crushed out." Let Democrats, who are Democrats, and mean to stand by the Ohio Platform, look to it.

I have now shown that, tried by the test which Mr. Madison suggests, it is the Baltimore Democracy, and not the Independent Democracy, that turns out to be a faction.

What are the aims of the Independent Democracy? To denationalize Slavery; to divorce the General Government from Slavery; to rescue the Government and its Administration from the control of the Slave Power; to put its example and influence perpetually and actively on the side of Freedom at home and abroad; to decentralize power; to substitute, as far as possible, popular election of officials, such as postmasters and the like, for Presidential appointments; to reform abuses; to economize expenditures; to cheapen postage; to promote intercommunication; to secure Homes for the Homeless and Lands for the Landless; to encourage nations struggling with tyrants, by a noble example, by a generous sympathy, and, when practicable, by active aid; in short, to make the American Republic what our Fathers designed it should be—the country of Freemen—the Refuge of the Oppressed, the light of the world. These are the aims of the Independent Democracy; and these aims it seeks to accomplish only by the use of just, honorable, constitutional means. He must have strange ideas of Faction and of Party, who calls the Baltimore Democracy a Party, and the Independent Democracy a Faction.

I shall refer only to one other point made by you. You ask a question, and make a statement, in these words: "If the Abolition or Free Soil or Free Democratic party were to be entirely successful, and were able to secure a majority of the Northern members of Congress, or the whole of them, what would be their legislation, when, as preliminary to it, they must swear to support the Constitution of the United States? They could no more liberate than make a slave. They must legislate constitutionally; and what is constitutional legislation, must be determined by a constitutional tribunal. This being true, no more could be effected with Free Soil members of Congress than without them."

There is a strange confusion of ideas in this paragraph. You assume that the Independent Democratic movement is purely sectional, and then you assume that no action at all against Slavery is possible, except through a change of the Constitution. The oath to support the Constitution, you seem to think, binds all members of Congress to take no action whatever against Slavery. You certainly cannot have given much attention to the matters you undertake to discuss, or you never would have set forth such crude and absurd notions as these; for, I repeat, I do not believe you could intentionally misrepresent any body of your fellow-citizens.

In the first place, you ought to know that the Independent Democratic party is by no means confined to the non-slaveholding States. At the last Presidential election, its candidates received votes in several of the slaveholding States; and there is every reason to believe that this vote will largely increase. Indeed, we should look nowhere for a more rapid increase, were press and speech really free in those States.

In the second place, if the Independent Democracy had a majority of the members of Congress, they would need no alteration of the Constitution to enable them to effect all the important reforms which they contemplate. In respect to Slavery, in particular, as I have already said, they could prohibit it in the District, in the Territories, or the seas; they could repeal the Fugitive Slave Act; they could prohibit the sale of persons under Federal process. To be sure, they could not effect the abolition of Slavery in the slave States by direct legislation for that object; but who does not see that the divorce of the General Government from Slavery effected by the process I have described would exert a great moral influence for Freedom in those States? The people of those States, encouraged by the example of the General Government, and stimulated by its legitimate influence, would themselves take up the work of enfranchisement; and Slavery would disappear speedily, certainly, peacefully, from the whole land.

Thus you see that you are altogether mistaken in supposing that nothing can be accomplished practically against Slavery by the legislation of Congress, and that an oath to support the Constitution at all interferes with such action as the Independent Democracy proposes. Such an oath, on the contrary, binds to that action, for in no way can the Constitution be so supported, or the Union so secured, as by denationalizing Slavery—the chief source of danger to both.

The preceding observations will show you the quality of that Democracy which you call *Chased*. When, however, you distinguish it by an adjective derived from my name, you pay me an undeserved compliment. No other merit is claimed by me than that of faithfully adhering to its principles, instead of following either Conventions or Presidents, in abandonment of them. I found these principles embodied in the platform of the Old Line Democracy of Ohio, identical, in all important respects, with that of the Independent Democracy. I carried them with me into the Senate. In all my action, as a Senator, I have sought to advance them, rather than myself. It is an unspeakable satisfaction to me to feel, also, that while I have upon no occasion sacrificed or compromised them, I have left nothing unattempted which seemed likely to benefit Ohio; and that no private citizen, of whatever party, has complained of my neglect of any claim upon the attention of the National Legislature, confided to me.

The Democracy which attracts my devotion has been well described "as a sentiment not to be appalled, corrupted, *compromised*. It knows no baseness, it cowers to no danger, it *oppresses no weakness*. Fearless, generous, and humane, it rebukes arrogance, cherishes honor, and *sympathizes with the humble. It is the sentiment of Freedom, of Equal Rights, of Equal Obligations. It is the law of nature, pervading the law of the land.*"

Such is my idea of Democracy, expressed in the language of a master. Let not the vain boast that I have realized this idea be imputed to me. I have only to say that I have endeavored to be faithful to it.

And I shall endeavor to remain faithful to it. The Ohio platform is framed in accordance with it. So far, then, as the National Democracy Administration conforms its action to the principles and doctrines of that platform, it shall have my earnest support. Upon the great question of Slavery, now agitating the whole country, mingling itself with all other questions, and threatening the old parties with disorganization, there is, I suppose, no reason to expect even toleration for those with whom the cherished principles of Ohio are practised maxims of political action. Upon that subject, therefore, I do not expect to harmonize with the Administration. It is deeply impressed on my convictions, that the greatest and deadliest antagonist of living, earnest Democracy, at this day, is the Slave Power. With that Power, therefore, I can make no compromise. You will. That Power is, at present, in the ascendant, and you may receive its favors. I prefer conscious fidelity to Democratic principles, to place or profit purchased by any compromise of them. There was a time when *uncompromising Democracy* were words of power. That time may return.

But were I to frame a wish for the future, it would have no reference to myself. It would be only that the Ohio Democracy might maintain firmly and fearlessly their own noble creed; and that, hereafter, the action of the Ohio Democracy might correspond with their high profession. Then, they would sanction no compromises with oppression; then, they would repel with indignant contempt the dictation of insolent power; then, they would refuse their support to candidates pledged to the maintenance of platforms antagonistic to their own; then, gathered under one standard, from both wings of the Ohio Democracy, and from every other organization in which liberal and earnest men are found, would be marshalled a brave and veteran host of Democrats, worthy to lead the van of Progress and Reform. Who could doubt the issue of the contest, when that army should join battle with the forces of Compromise Despotism?

Respectfully, your fellow-citizen,

S. P. CHASE.

For the National Era.

GENTLE GRACE.

"I wish my words may comfort you, if you will hear them, father."—CROCK OF GOLD.

She had a heart of love,
Her eyes were heavenly blue,
Her voice was gentle as a dove,
Her words were sweet and true.

"Be humbled before God,
As all should in his sight;
Submit yourself beneath His rod—
He will defend the right.

"I speak to you to cheer,
And not your hopes to blight;
Confront the false without a fear—
So, God defend the right!"

She looked an angel then—
Her cheeks with Truth were flushed,
Her lips a lesson taught to men
Who would the soul have crushed.

A daughter's love inspired,
And gave to gentle Grace
These precious words, with wisdom fired,
While Hope illumed her face.

BLANCHE BENNAIRDE.

CLEVELAND WATER CURE ESTABLISHMENT.

THE above Establishment continues in successful operation during the winter as well as summer. The number of patients treated at the Establishment has been on the increase from year to year, for the past six years, until the last season, when the demands of the public far exceeded our power to accommodate them. The increasing rapidity and proportion of cures, from year to year, induces the subscriber to believe that his enlarged experience and opportunities for treatment give facilities to the invalid rarely equalled.

Diseases peculiar to females are treated with a success and *rapidity* of cure believed to be surpassed by none. [Dec. 8.] T. T. SEELYE, M. D.

JOHN CALVERLEY,

MANUFACTURER of Candle Moulds, No. 109 Race (Sassafras) street, above Third, opposite the White Swan Hotel, Philadelphia. Dec. 1—3m

HONEY BEE FEED.

ANY person who will send his address, and one dollar in an envelope, post paid, to E. JORDAN, Newbury, Vermont, shall have sent him by mail, post paid, in return, a paper informing him—1st, how to make four qualities of feed for bees, costing from 3 to 6 cents per lb., from which good honey is produced; 2d, giving information how to use the feed with any common hive, with drawers; 3d, giving information how to prevent fighting and robbing while in the process of feeding. Knowing that multitudes are desirous to obtain the above information, and that it is more than an equivalent for the dollar asked, no apology is needed for this notice. Please send a gold dollar, or a current bill on some New England bank, when possible.

Nov. 17. E. JORDAN.

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GEO. M. SLOAN. J. C. IRVINE.

SLOAN & IRVINE, Attorneys at Law, No. 284 Main street, Cincinnati, Ohio.

References: Dr. George Fries, Alexander H. McGuffey, A. McKenzie, Graham & McCoy, Cincinnati, Ohio; Smith & Sinclair, Smith, Bagaley, & Co., Pittsburgh; N. D. Morgan, Auditor of State of Ohio; Geo. N. McCook, Attorney General of Ohio, Columbus; J. G. Hussey, President Forest City Bank, Hussey & Sinclair, Mason & Estep, Cleveland. Dec. 1.

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PROSPECTUS OF THE CLEVELAND COMMERCIAL.

VOL. III—ENLARGED AND IMPROVED.

AS this is an age of progress and improvement, the proprietor of the *Commercial* intends that it shall keep fully up with the age, and, with this view, will commence a new volume in a few weeks, enlarged in size and improved in form. It will be a quarto form, or eight pages, and contain forty columns nearly the present length, instead of twenty-eight, as at present.

It will maintain its present character in relation to all parties and sects, which has given such general satisfaction to friends, and almost entirely escaped censure from enemies, if it has any, viz:

Liberality towards all, and Independence of all.

The editor will not attempt to dictate to any, nor submit to dictation from any.

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H. M. ADDISON,
Editor and Proprietor.

Cleveland, October 1, 1853.

PATENTS.

Z. C. ROBBINS, Attorney for Procuring and Defending Patents, Washington, D. C., makes Examinations at the Patent Office, prepares Drawings and Papers for Applicants for Patents, and can be consulted on all matters relating to the Patent Laws and decisions in this and other countries. He also continues to devote especial attention to arguing *rejected* applications before the Commissioner of Patents, in which line of practice he has succeeded in procuring a great number of valuable patents. His fee for an examination at the Patent Office is five dollars; for other services the charge will be reasonable. Reference can be made to members of Congress, or to those for whom Mr. R. has transacted business during the past nine years. Aug. 25—eow

PROSPECTUS FOR 1854.

THE SATURDAY EVENING POST.

UNRIVALLED ARRAY OF TALENT.

THE Proprietors of the POST, in again coming before the public, would return thanks for the generous patronage which has placed them far in advance of every other literary weekly in America; and as the only suitable return for such free and hearty support, their arrangements for 1854 have been made with a degree of liberality probably unequalled in the history of American newspaper literature. They have engaged, as contributors for the ensuing year, the following brilliant array of talent and genius:

Mrs. Southworth, Emerson Bennett, Mrs. Denison, Grace Greenwood, and Fanny Fern.

In the first paper of January next, we design commencing an Original Novelet, written expressly for our columns, entitled

THE BRIDE OF THE WILDERNESS,

By EMERSON BENNETT, author of "Viola," "Clara Moreland," "The Forged Will," etc.

This Novelet, by the popular author of "Clara Moreland," we design following by another, called

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By Mrs. MARY A. DENISON, author of "Home Pictures," "Gertrude Russell," etc.

We have also the promise of a number of

SKETCHES BY GRACE GREENWOOD,

Whose brilliant and versatile pen will be almost exclusively employed upon the Post and her own "Little Pilgrim."

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By EMMA D. E. N. SOUTHWORTH, author of "The Curse of Clifton," "The Lost Heiress," "The Deserted Wife," etc.

And last—not least—we are authorized to announce a series of articles from one who has rapidly risen very high in popular favor. They will be entitled

A NEW SERIES OF SKETCHES,

By FANNY FERN, author of "Fern Leaves," etc.

We expect to be able to commence the Sketches by Fanny Fern, as well as the series by Grace Greenwood, in the early numbers of the coming year.

Engravings, Foreign Correspondence, Agricultural Articles, The News, Congressional Reports, The Markets, etc., also shall be regularly given.

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☞ *To Editors.*—Editors who give the above one insertion, or condense the material portions of it, (the notices of new contributions, and our terms,) for their *editorial* column, shall be entitled to an exchange, by sending us a *marked* copy of the paper containing the advertisement or notice. Dec. 1—eo3t

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Refer to Hon. Thomas J. Rusk, Hon. C. F. James, and Hon. P. Allen, U. S. Senate. Dec. 1—6m

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THIS remedy is offered to the community with the confidence we feel in an article which seldom fails to realize the happiest effects that can be desired. So wide is the field of its usefulness and so numerous the cases of its cures, that almost every section of the country abounds in persons, publicly known, who have been restored from alarming and even desperate diseases of the lungs by its use. When once tried, its superiority over every other medicine of its kind is too apparent to escape observation; and where its virtues are known, the public no longer hesitate what antidote to employ for the distressing and dangerous affections of the pulmonary organs which are incident to our climate.

Nothing has called louder for the earnest inquiry of medical men, than the alarming prevalence and fatality of consumptive complaints, nor has any one class of diseases had more of their investigation and care. But as yet no adequate remedy had been provided, on which the public could depend for protection from attacks upon the respiratory organs, until the introduction of the CHERRY PECTORAL. This article is the product of a long, laborious, and I believe successful endeavor to furnish the community with such a remedy. Of this last statement the American people are now themselves prepared to judge, and I appeal with confidence to their decision. If there is any dependence to be placed in what men of every class and station certify it has done for them; if we can trust our own senses, when we see dangerous affections of the throat and lungs yield to it; if we can depend on the assurance of intelligent physicians, who make it their business to know; in short, if there is any reliance on anything, then is it irrefutably proven that this medicine does relieve and does cure the class of diseases it is designed for, beyond any and all others that are known to mankind. If this be true, it cannot be too freely published, nor be too widely known. The afflicted should know it. A remedy that cures is priceless to them. Parents should know it: their children are priceless to them. All should know it; for health can be priced to no one. Not only should it be circulated here, but everywhere—not only in this country, but in all countries. How faithfully we have acted on this conviction, is shown in the fact that already this article has made the circle of the globe. The sun never sets on its limits. No continent is without it, and but few peoples. Although not in so general use in other nations as in this, it is employed by the more intelligent in almost all civilized countries. It is extensively employed in both Americas—in Europe, Asia, Africa, Australia, and the far-off islands of the sea. Life is as dear to its possessors there as here, and they grasp at a valuable remedy with even more avidity. Unlike most preparations of its kind, it is an expensive composition of costly material. Still it is afforded to the public at a reasonably low price; and, what is of vastly more importance to them, its quality is never suffered to decline from its original standard of excellence. Every bottle of this medicine, now manufactured, is as good as ever has been made heretofore, or as we are capable of making. No toil or cost is spared, in maintaining it in the best perfection which it is possible to produce. Hence, the patient who procures the genuine CHERRY PECTORAL can rely on having as good an article as has ever been had by those who testify to its cures.

By pursuing this course, I have the hope of doing some good in the world, as well as the satisfaction of believing that much has been done already.

Prepared by J. C. AYER, Chemist, Lowell, Mass. Sold in Washington by Z. D. GILMAN, and by all Druggists and Dealers in Medicine everywhere.